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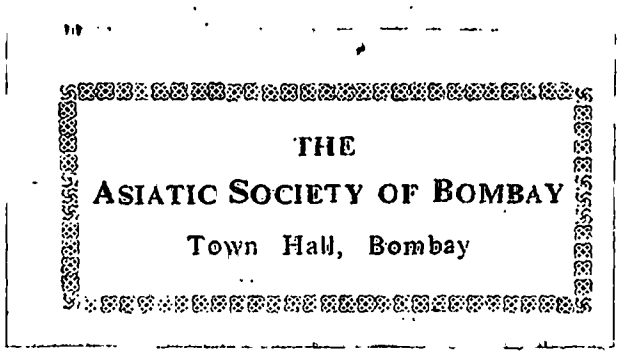

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ANTHROPOLOGY AND THE FALL

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AUTHOR OF "THE CLAIMS OF LIBERAL ANGLICANISM"

WITH A PREFACE BY

C. C. MARTINDALE, S.J.

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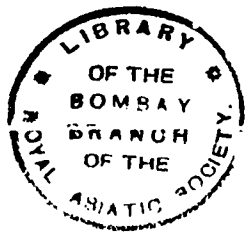

ERRATA

Page 40 omit line 8 from top

Page 46 line 13 from bottom should follow line 5 from top

Page 79 in line 8 from top for bengi read being

THE WRITER DESIRES TO EXPRESS HIS THANKS TO THE REV. CUTHBERT LATTEY, S.J., PROFESSOR OF HOLY SCRIPTURE, ST. BEUNO'S COLLEGE, ST. ASAPH FOR HAVING READ HIS MANUSCRIPT, AND TO DR. R. R. MARETT, READER IN SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD FOR READING THE PROOFS.

PREFACE

NO system of thought has ever been at once so coherent and so fiercely self-critical as the Catholic.

This is no doubt true, precisely because Catholics are so certain of their creed that they are never afraid of any fact.

But precisely, once more, because they have so profound a veneration for the Truth, they are instructed to be extremely careful not to admit as a fact what may turn out to be fiction; and even without such instruction, they have seen too many theories arise, grow fashionable, and expire unlamented if not actually derided, to feel the least temptation to accept a theory just because it is new and neat.

The more vital the truths they believe to have been committed to them, the more scrupulously careful are they to apply the maximum test to any theory or fact which may be brought into connection with such truths.

Truths of this sort are manifestly those which concern the nature of man and his destiny here and, it may be, hereafter. Hence if it be true that each individual's fate depends upon his choices; and that it concerns accordingly, first and foremost, what is moral, not physical; and if it be true, as Catholics hold further, that for an adequate moral choice a sufficient knowledge of God is necessary, it follows at once that a Catholic may well be relatively uninterested—though only relatively—in the

history of the physical structure of man ; the date of his appearance on this planet ; the variations of his culture, and so forth.

But the facts proper to anthropology may acquire an interest far deeper then what is strictly proper to themselves, if they can be linked with those belonging to psychology, ethics, or theology.

The views of anthropologists about man's origin, nature, and early history do indeed concern the Catholic theologian, not least in two ways—in so far as the doctrines of the Fall and of Original Sin imply certain beliefs about our first parents, and, in so far as the veracity of the Scriptures and of the Book of Genesis in particular is involved.

It is true that no anthropological discovery whatsoever can come into contact with the strictly supernatural element in the doctrine of the Fall or Original Sin ; that is simply not a fact of observation at all. It would be as silly to deduce the possibility or presence of sanctifying grace from a study of the culture of human beings (let alone their bones) as to use a scalpel to discover a soul. I may add that it is the rarest thing in the world to find any non-Catholic nowadays who has the least idea of what the doctrines of the Fall and of Original Sin really are. Who, that takes the trouble to deny them, does not suppose that they have something to do with level of culture or even of development of physique ? But allowing

that these doctrines move entirely, in their essence, on the super-natural plane, we must admit that they have certain presupposits on the natural one, such as, that the race is descended from a single pair of human beings, male and female. To disturb a Catholic theologian in this department, an anthropologist would have, then, to demonstrate that the race came into existence at many centres simultaneously; or, that human creatures, at the outset, did not possess spiritual souls, or at least, could not use them; or, that religion came into being necessarily and exclusively by means of a natural evolution. We see no dawn of a hint that the evidence tends to show the first of these claims to be true; nor do we see how anthropology can ever do more than form hypotheses about the other two.

But anthropology thinks that it has at least had an easy task in disproving the veracity of the story of the Fall as told in Genesis. And were this proved false, it would not matter what happened to the story of the Flood; that, then, and other subordinate narratives I need not mention.

The Church, on grounds quite alien to the subject of this book, holds that she is divinely guaranteed to teach the truth and nothing else. One of the things she teaches is that the Scriptures, and therefore the book of Genesis, are divinely inspired in all their parts, and in consequence, inerrant in all that they affirm;

and that as a further consequence nothing that they teach will or can be in contradiction to her doctrines, though her doctrines will not be found in their entirety in any one part of the Scriptures, and need not indeed be all of them enshrined in Scripture at all. None the less, what Scripture does teach, will be true infallibly.

It is her business, then, to affim what Scripture affirms, and therefore to make sure what Scripture does affirm, to interpret, and to promulgate it. Therefore, she accurately studies Scripture. Involved in any such study, is the distinction between what an author says, and the way in which he chooses to say it. An author may write history in the modern sense, or poetry, or moral truths. There is no *a priori* reason why a Scriptural author might not write inspired fiction. Whether he ever has, is another matter. Anyhow, a writer using any one of such literary methods, could say the same thing as those who used one or all of the others, though, in consequence of his chosen method, his way of stating what he states, would be quite different from theirs. The Church then has no difficulty whatever, in principle, in admitting that this element or that in a Biblical narrative, may be metaphorical. In fact she would declare heretical the man who should affirm that the phrase which says that God breathed into man's nostrils the breath of life, was anything else. For to take it literally would involve the materiality of God.

But in making such distinctions, even by way of hypothesis, the Holy See will not allow its students to be hasty, still less reckless. After all, the Church exists for the salvation of souls, and is not a school of archeology or any other science as such, and is scrupulously jealous of the integrity of the outermost bulwarks, so to call them, of her saving truths. It is far more important that what is substantial, should not be taken for metaphor, than that by diagnosing metaphor in the way of stating a truth, we should lead the imagination of our hearers into thinking that the truth was metaphorical. In a sense, it hardly matters at all in what way the Creation or the Fall be described; but it matters very much whether we believe, or not, that God created man, and that man fell.

Therefore the Holy See, while vigorously urging forward the study of the Scriptures in Catholic Institutes and so forth, is extremely slow to allow professors to put out views which have not had time to be thoroughly tested; the Biblical Commission, for example, is careful to let loyal Catholics know what can and what cannot be safely said by them, although to these decisions it does not appear necessary to give that kind of assent which is given to the truths of faith. Nor, given the elusive character of so much of the evidence provided by the new schools of research, need they feel the least irksomeness in this. Observe, for example, the

spiral traced by the critics of Homer! How great a "re-action" is visible there! Or rather, after an interval of radicalism, for how much better reasons is the older view being held by yet more modern critics. Thus I should now consider a man a fool who denied the possibility of an individual Homer having existed, and having written, substantially, the whole *Iliad*. I consider it would be "rash," even, to deny the possibility of his having written the whole *Odyssey*, in substance, too. And as for sheer chronology, no one who has followed the recent events in Egypt and the comments on them, is ignorant that experts in this very circumscribed department differ, at times, by a whole thousand of years, in the dating of a monument.

It seems to us, then, almost impossible, save on *a priori* principles which have no place, strictly speaking, in anthropological or archeological research, to affirm that this or that, in the book of Genesis, was merely metaphor. Indeed, to be a metaphor, and not a sheer lie, a statement has to refer to something that is true. The distinction between history and metaphor is an altogether bad one. For a historical fact can be stated metaphorically quite as well as a spiritual truth. Hence whatever amount of metaphor there may or may not be in Genesis, the Church will certainly never allow it to be taught that its narratives are not historical.

In particular we are not allowed to teach that

they are "purified Babylonian myths." To begin with, such a theory is based on a priorisms. One has to assume the Babylonian myth, and then, its priority and then, its purification. Even with regard to the Flood, where there is a Babylonian myth offering points of resemblance to the story in Genesis, there is no real way of doing more than *assuming* the priority of this or of that; and certainly no means of proving affiliation. With regard to the Fall, analogies have simply to be invented. Even were they discovered, the theory of a common ancestor can quite well be maintained, and better. For are there examples of "purified myths?" I doubt it. There are parallel myths, sometimes, or myths allegorised by philosophers which were never successfully imposed, however, on popular imagination. Idle to quote Aeschylus or Plutarch. I should have said, had the Babylonian and the Biblical Flood-stories been put before me independently of any particular controversy, that the highly complicated Babylonic stories were noticeably the later.

However, what exactly is implied by the theory that the Genesis narrative is a Babylonian myth, purified? That the story took its rise in pagan minds; that it is not true; and that after the elimination of objectionable features, it could serve to illustrate certain spiritual truths believed in by Hebrew theologians. It is manifest that to assert that this is what happened would be wholly to outstrip the

evidence. All that we know is that there are two stories of the Flood, one of them much grosser than the other, belonging to the Babylonian and the Hebrew world respectively, devoid of intrinsic or extrinsic evidence which should enable us to affix a date of origin to either. There is moreover another Hebrew narrative, that of the Fall, without, so far, any Babylonian parallel of an even probable sort. What can we say save, at most, that were a Babylonian version of this old story to be found, it would no doubt be much grosser than the one in Genesis? That is all. A Catholic, then, is free both scientifically and theologically to surmise, if he likes, that a doctrine, instilled from very early times, had reached the Babylonian world before the emigration of the folk of Abram, and had been by the pagans decorated and developed in a way that suited their taste, and that the Hebrews, teaching the same doctrine, used a minimum of those motifs to which their environment and epoch were accustomed, so that the doctrine should be perpetuated, and set forth in a form which would not be unintelligible to those who were being taught. It is at once clear that this suggestion differs *toto caelo* from that of a "purified myth," both as regards the origin of the thing transmitted, and the formation of the vehicle of its transmission. None the less since it is but a possible hypothesis, I should hesitate to call it one that could safely be offered.

I have insisted on this topic, in order to show at once how careful the Church is of her doctrine, and therefore of the assertion of theories, and, how free students are in the *examination* of the facts. I have not done so in order to approve or disapprove of the way in which the writer of the following pages has collected and used his own facts. I am not competent to judge them. From what he writes, I should surmise that so far as the very circumscribed and precarious evidence that anthropologists can use, extends, nothing whatever has been found which conflicts with the Church's doctrine or makes it any harder to hold; but that anthropology tends, if anything, to show (than which it never can show more) that what the Church says happened, could have happened, and indeed, more easily than the reverse. Once more, the study of the brain and nervous system shows that if, on other grounds, I consider it to be demonstrated that, in man, a spiritual coefficient is to be found, brain and nervous system provide a very good machine through which such spirit may operate; and by no means preclude or make improbable the existence of that spirit. So in the realm of anthropology, Catholics doctrine is not interfered with; even as a hypothesis, Catholic doctrine covers more facts than any other.

C. C. MARTINDALE: Oxford.

CHAPTER I

THE BIBLE, SCIENCE, AND MAN'S EARLY HISTORY

How far does anthropology compel us to modify traditional views of early Biblical history?—Modern difficulties on this subject—Biblical views of man's early history—Modern scientific research into this question—Comparison of the two points of view.

MUCH has already been written from many different standpoints on the supposed conflict between religion and science, so there are some perhaps, who may believe that there can be little left to be said on this subject; yet, however true this may be in regard to certain branches of science, the present writer is convinced that this is not the case with regard to that one which deals pre-eminently with man himself. The reason for this conviction is the prevalence of the persistent and widespread belief among the majority of persons possessing even a cursory acquaintance with anthropological science, that the views of the early history of the human race and of the origin of its religious beliefs which form the basis of Catholic theology have ceased to be tenable in view of our increased knowledge of early man, and that the claims of the Church to be the guardian of an unique supernatural revelation, have been fatally undermined by

the scientific study of rudimentary phases of religious belief. The writer is therefore addressing himself, not primarily to those persons who are shocked at hearing that the doctrine of the Fall of man is being called in question to-day, but rather to those who are surprised to hear it seriously suggested that it does not belong exclusively to the realm of comparative mythology.

It is, of course, undeniable that the picture of primitive man which unfolds itself to the gaze of the scientific student of to-day is in many respects a different one from that which presented itself to the eyes of St. Paul, of St. Augustine, or even to those of the Fathers of the Council of Trent. Indeed, our knowledge of pre-historic times has expanded during the last century to a far greater extent than was the case during the previous eighteen centuries of Christian history. At the same time, when treating of this question, it is vital that we should have in our mind a very clear distinction between the positive additions which nineteenth century and twentieth century science have contributed to our knowledge of the early history of our race, and certain inferences which have been based upon these new facts by men who have surreptitiously introduced an anti-Christian assumption into some stage or other of their reasoning.

Let us first take a glance at the knowledge or pseudo-knowledge concerning early man

which was available to the theologians of a century ago. To them, the earlier portion of the Bible was something, as it were, *in vacuo*, and was not, as it is to us, extended upon an archaeological and anthropological background.

It professed to carry the history of mankind back far beyond the Pagan records. At the time of the traditional date of the foundation of Rome, the Hebrew monarchies had already entered upon their period of decline; while even in 1184 B.C., the date to which the Greek chronologists assign the sack of Troy, the Israelites already established in the "Land of Promise" were believed to have had the first six of their sacred books committed to writing, while Assyriology and Egyptology, as yet unborn, were in no position to question the accuracy of the biblical record. It is true that in the Far East there existed a venerable monarchy which proudly claimed that its origin dated from a period prior to that to which the Deluge was traditionally assigned, but its chronological pretensions were treated with no more respect than was the extravagant claim of the Phoenicians, that their nation boasted an antiquity of 30,000 years! Moses, the first author known to Hebrew tradition, was placed in the fifteenth century B.C. according to the received chronology, while it was supposed that less than a millennium before him a universal deluge had wiped out the entire human race, with the exception of some

eight persons. Moreover, this catastrophe was believed to have been separated from the creation, not merely of the first human pair, but of the whole material universe besides, by the space of little more than sixteen centuries, whilst a continuous oral tradition was supposed to link Moses with Adam, guaranteeing the truth of the statements made by the former.[1] This, briefly, is what about a century ago, appeared to represent all that could be known about the early history of mankind.

Many factors have contributed towards the result of bringing about the revolution which has taken place in the views now held with regard to this question. The progress of geology ultimately led to the recognition of the fact that the fossil forms embedded in the rocks were not, as had once been believed, freaks of nature, or relics of the Biblical Deluge, but were actually the remains of extinct animals which had formerly inhabited our planet. At first no one dreamed of supposing that man was contemporaneous with the fossil mammalia whose remains were being brought to light by British and Continental cave-hunters, though ultimately evidence accumulated which tended to show that he was. The researches of the Rev. William Buckland (1784-1856), who was Reader in Geology at the University of Oxford

[1] Some writers did away with the necessity of such an oral tradition by supposing that God revealed the story of the Fall to Moses.

and afterwards Dean of Westminster, and of Professor Schmerling, of Liége, revealed the skeletal remains of pre-historic man in juxtaposition to those of the extinct fauna at Paviland and Engis, respectively, while human artefacts were found by Mr. MacEnery, the Catholic Chaplain at Torr Abbey, in a stalagmite floor in the neighbourhood of Torquay, and by M. Boucher de Perthes in the gravels of the Somme valley, near Abbeville. Finally, Sir Charles Lyell's *Antiquity of Man* (1863) forced upon a somewhat reluctant world the belief that man was far older than had at one time been believed to be the case. Another point in which geology appeared to be in conflict with the Biblical narrative, was in the unfavourable attitude which it had assumed towards the hypothesis of an universal Deluge during the latter half of the 3rd millennium B.C., while pre-historic archaeology appeared to lend weight to the view that all human civilisation had developed gradually from the lowliest beginnings; whereas generations, whose sole sources of information about the early history of the race had been the Old Testament and the Classics, had been inclined to the view that the earliest men had stood at a relatively high level of culture.

Let us now cast a glance down the vista of the past which archaeology and anthropology have laid open to our gaze, and set it beside the Biblical narrative. The main facts in the history

of the development of human civilisation in Europe since the downfall of the Roman Empire have been preserved by written records, though for portions of the Continent which never came under Roman influence, such as Russia and Scandinavia, the early part of the record is very imperfect. The Roman historians narrate the achievements of their nation through the previous millennium, though our knowledge of the regal period at Rome is largely conjectural. In Greece—the only part of the Continent besides Italy which developed an indigenous literary civilisation in ancient times—we possess a consecutive knowledge of events back to the eighth century B.C. while the Homeric poems dimly illuminate an earlier period.

Egyptology, Assyriology, and Aegean archaeology provide us with an outline knowledge of what took place in the Eastern Mediterranean during the second and third millennia before Christ, and as far as the Levant is concerned, this period may be called the age of proto-history. Egyptologists recognise a dynastic period going back to *circa* 3400[1] B.C., with a pre-dynastic period lying behind it.

Students of Aegean archaeology divide the ancient civilisation of Crete into an early, middle, and late Minoan period, each in its turn broken up into three sub-periods. Evans places the beginning of the early Minoan age at

[1] Petrie at one time placed dynasty I about 5510 B.C.

3400 B.C.,[1] and considers that the Neolithic period of Crete probably goes back to 8000 B.C.[2]

The second sub-period of the middle Minoan appears to have synchronised with the Egyptian dynasty XII (about 2000 B.C.), whose sites have yielded Aegean pottery of that age.[3]

In Mesopotamia archaeology has revealed the existence of a Sumerian civilisation preceding the first Semitic kingdom founded in that region by Sargon of Akkad (probably about 2800 B.C.);[4] while at Anau in Russian Turkestan, and at Susan in Elam, remains of early civilisations going back to the Neolithic age have been found by an American and a French expedition respectively. We cannot trace the beginnings of proto-history so far back in other parts of the world. A consecutive knowledge of history begins in India about 600 B.C., in China about 1100 B.C., and in Japan about 400 A.D. In each of these countries, however, an age of legend precedes the period of authentic history.

The prehistoric cultures of the new world do not appear to be able to claim an antiquity remotely equal to the early civilisations of the old one.

[1] *The Palace of Minos* (1921), Vol. I, p. 25.

[2] *Ibid.* 35.

[3] J. L. Myers: *Dawn of History* (1911), p. 174.

[4] Some authorities place Sargon I 3800 B.C., on the basis of the computation made by the Neo-Babylonian king Nabondius (556-538 B.C.) that Sargon's successor, Naramsin, reigned 3,200 years before his own time.

The greater part of the American Continent, Africa south of the Sahara, Northern Asia and Oceania, before they fell under European influence, were inhabited by peoples without history, though ethnology, folk-lore, and comparative philology can perhaps here and there unravel the tangled record of early migrations. The like was true of Northern, Western and Central Europe before the expansion of the Roman power beyond the confines of Italy. Prehistoric archaeology has sought to bring to light something of the vanished past of these lands, and it must be admitted that in Western Europe its task has been accomplished with no small measure of success. It may be granted at once that its verdict is unfavourable to the view that this part of the world only became the scene of human inhabitation about 4,000 years ago, or that if previously occupied by man, its inhabitants perished in a universal Deluge occurring not much more than 2,000 years before the Christian Era.

When scientific archaeology was as yet in its infancy, it came to be recognised that the inhabitants of Europe and the Mediterranean basin had passed through an age of stone before entering on an age of metal. The dividing line between these two periods can be fixed only with approximation, and the change from a stone to a metal culture was not merely very gradual but took place earlier in some

localities than in others. In the Eastern Mediterranean, this change seems to have occured some 5000 to 6000 years ago; throughout the greater part of the continent, however, it took place at a later date. In most parts of the civilised world the use of bronze (a more malleable metal) preceded that of iron.[1]

The early iron age in both Italy and Greece is roughly contemporaneous with the beginning of the historic period, so that archaeologists are thus provided with approximate dates from which to work their way backwards. In Great Britain iron was not, perhaps, in general use before about 500 B.C. and in Scandinavia not, perhaps, till a little later. As the supersession of bronze by iron did not everywhere take place at the same time, neither did the supersession of stone by bronze. This latter transformation, as we have said, was probably effected in the Aegean by about 3000 B.C., and from thence most likely a bronze culture worked its way up the valleys of the Danube and the Vardar into Central Europe. The beginning of the bronze age in Great Britain has been assigned by Sir John Evans to 1500—1400 B.C., by Sir Hercules Reade to 1800 B.C., and by Lord Avebury to 2500 B.C. It now seems to be probable that in every part of the

[1] This fact was not unknown to the Greeks and Romans. See Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 150 ff.; Ovid, *Fasti IV*, 405; and *Lucretius*, *V*, 1286.

world the age of metals was preceded by an enormous age of stone. And, indeed, only about a century and a half ago many parts of the world had not yet emerged from it.

It is now long since archaeologists became aware of the fact that in the latter part of this period polished stone was in use, while the implements used in the former part were unpolished, though even after the art of polishing stone had been acquired, unpolished implements continued in use beside polished ones. About fifty years ago, Lord Avebury (then Sir John Lubbock) gave to the earlier, and by far the longer part of the stone age, the name of "Palaeolithic" and to the latter part that of "Neolithic." The Eastern basin of the Mediterranean, probably entered upon the Neolithic period about 8000 B.C. This period falls after the close of the last Quaternary glaciation, when Europe, possessed of its modern flora and fauna, was enjoying a temperate climate. It was once supposed that a "hiatus" separated the Palaeolithic from the Neolithic culture, during which time Britain had been uninhabited. But as the present writer once heard a distinguished ethnologist remark "the only hiatus which really existed was in our knowledge," and the sequence of the stone age cultures is now recognised to have been continuous. The transitional period is sometimes called "Mesolithic," though more often Azilian,

from the site of Mas d'Azil (*Ariège*) at which its industry is represented.

When we turn from man's tools to man himself, we find that the great primary divisions of the human species—white, yellow, and black—have been in existence and have roughly occupied their present habitats (except for the expansion of the white race during the last three centuries) from a period considerably earlier than that to which the deluge was traditionally assigned ; at which time, as we have seen, the transition from the use of stone to that of metal appears to have been already in progress. The osteological remains of Neolithic man in Europe show that he closely resembled his modern successor, and the same may be said of the races of the upper Palaeolithic strata.

All these peoples are at once recognisable as belonging to the species "Homo Sapiens." When, however, we cross the dividing line from the upper to the middle Palaeolithic, we meet with a change in the population of Europe, so great that from an anthropological point of view it must be recognised as a far more pronounced one than that which separates Neolithic from Mesolithic or Mesolithic from Palaeolithic man, and we find ourselves in the presence of a brutish and now extinct type, whom anatomists have named "Homo Neanderthalensis" or, less wisely, "Homo Primigenius." He was more prognathous than any existing race of man, possessed a low cranial vault,

associated, however, with a large cranial capacity, and had heavy supra-orbital ridges, while his humeri and femora were short and stout.[1]

Though possessing so many anatomical features of a more simian character than the corresponding ones of modern man, Homo Neanderthalensis was in many respects highly specialised, and it is now clear that the early view which regarded him as a link in the ancestral chain, uniting man with his hypothetical anthropoid precursors, was an erroneous one. Of late years his remains (in a few cases teeth only) have been forthcoming from many sites, and besides the original skull found in the Neanderthal near Düsseldorf, which gave its name to the race, they have been discovered at several sites in Belgium and France, at Krapina (Yugoslavia), Ehringsdorf (Germany), in Jersey, at Gibraltar, in Malta, and in Algeria.

[1] Lest any reader who has never pursued a course of anthropological study should suspect that these statements are based upon guess-work, it may be pointed out that almost the entire skeleton of Neanderthal man is now available for study. Nevertheless, we may quote an archaeologist's warning with regard to certain injudicious attempts which have been made to portray pre-historic man or even "proto-man" either plastically or pictorially as he appeared in the flesh. "Such restorations, it must be remarked," this authority warns us, "are of more than doubtful value. The slightest change in the soft parts of the cheek and nose makes a profound difference in the whole appearance of the face; in fact, the same skull can carry many different faces. . . . No one could deduce the stripes of a tiger or the spots of a leopard from their fossilised bones; but a restoration that did not represent these markings would give a very poor notion of the real animal." (R. A. S. Macalister, *A Textbook of European Archaeology* (1921), Vol. I, p. 351.)

Quite recently, moreover (1921), remains of a race possessing certain Neanderthaloid affinities have been found in South Africa.

As it is not easy to suppose that Neanderthal man was transformed suddenly into his modern successor, we are driven to conjecture that the later Palaeolithic races were in existence contemporaneously with him and invaded Europe at first, most likely, from the South, at a period when the Mediterranean was divided into two great lakes, and they could pass dryshod from Africa to Europe across the landbridges which connected Morocco with the Iberian peninsula and Tunisia with Sicily across the straits of Pantelleria. The last Palaeolithic invaders of Europe were very likely of Asiatic origin. The superior intelligence of these races probably made their victory over Neanderthal man relatively easy, though whether they intermarried with him or exterminated him completely seems to be uncertain. Some authorities allege in support of the first view the presence of certain Neanderthaloid traits in the population of modern Europe.

Science can, however, trace some outlines of human development even before the Mousterian age, in which Neanderthal man lived; chiefly, however, by way of his handiwork, rather than by the remains of man himself. If we set aside as being of doubtful humanity the low skull cap with retreating forehead indicating a cranial

capacity estimated at about 900 c.c.,[1] found in Java near a human femur by Dr. Eugen Dubois of the Netherlands Army Medical Service in the early '90's, there remain as the earliest known representatives of our species—the large mandible with wide ascending ramus, shallow sigmoid notch and receding chin, known as the Heidelberg jaw, which was discovered by Professor Schoetensack in a sandpit at Mauer in the valley of the Neckar in 1907, which, but for its indisputably human dentition, would have been classed as simian, and the remains found at Piltdown near Lewes in 1912 by the late Mr. Charles Dawson and Dr. Smith Woodward.[2] The Piltdown individual appears to have possessed a cranial capacity of perhaps 1500 c.c., though at first credited by its discoverers with one of only 1070 c.c. Most British authorities believe that the skull and the chimpanzee-like jaw, with its tusk-shaped canine tooth were the property of one and the same individual, but both on the Continent and in America that conclusion has been contested.[2]

[1] That is to say, roughly midway between that of an adult male gorilla and that of a native Australian. The largest cranial capacity recorded in a gorilla is 610 c.c. (A. Keith: *Antiquity of Man*, (1915), p. 398.)

[2] M. Boule: *Les hommes Fossiles* (1921), p. 163. The question must, it would seem, remain a disputed one till further discoveries answer it. The supporters of the common ownership of skull and jaw naturally lay stress on the somewhat curious coincidence which would be involved in the supposition that the jaw of a hitherto unknown species of chimpanzee should have come to lie side by side with portions of a human skull. It is true that "anthropithecus" has

At this point science has for the time being, lost track of man's early history, which becomes henceforth obscured by the dark night of antiquity. A high authority who declares his irrefragable belief that one day the remains of a being, which, though not itself human, will nevertheless be recognised as our ancestor, will be forthcoming, admits: "Il faut avouer pourtant que la Paléontologie ne nous a encore révelé aucune forme de passage indiscutable, aucune preuve matérielle d'une filiation allant d'une forme de singe à la forme humaine." (Boule: *op. cit.*, p. 90).

Let us now set the Biblical narrative of man's early history against this background, which modern research into the question has provided for it, and see how much of it appears to be credible, if the Bible be regarded as a purely human document; at what point it would become incredible when judged by such a criterion; and whether the facts which would appear incredible in a document of purely human origin would appear so merely because supported only by inadequate evidence or because they were in conflict with some ascertained facts. No sane critic denies the historical character of the main outlines of Jewish and Israelitish

not yet put in an appearance (apart from this disputed instance) in such northerly altitudes as Britain. But the remains of a large fossil anthropoid have been found in France. Anthropithecus, the Latin name for the chimpanzee, must not, of course, be confounded with Pithecanthropus, the name coined by Dubois for the possessor of the Trinil calvaria.

history from the days of the Maccabees back to the time of the foundation of the Monarchy under Saul and David, about 1000 B.C., though scholars who reject the miraculous on *a priori* grounds naturally eliminate the supernatural element from it in accordance with their presuppositions. It would, perhaps, be going too far to characterise as insane those scholars who have regarded with complete scepticism the existence of Moses, though the balance of critical opinion certainly favours the view that the great legislator possessed a historical personality, because the subsequent history of the religious institutions of Israel becomes more intelligible upon this supposition. What, however, does criticism make of the patriarchal narratives? With regard to the patriarchs at least, no claim is made that we possess contemporary documents, and certainly the number of scholars who are inclined to call in question the existence of Abraham would be considerably greater than the number of those who doubt the existence of Moses. We cannot determine upon purely *external grounds* whether Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were, or were not, historical personages, nor whether the twelve sons of Jacob were but eponymous ancestors of the Israelitish clans, or whether they were real men. We are driven back upon the use of *internal* criteria in testing the historical character of the patriarchal narratives. Three theories have prevailed with regard to the patriarchs: (1), that they

were real men ; (2), that they were personified tribes ; (3), that they were old Semitic gods, who became degraded into men—a somewhat gratuitous hypothesis—though old Pagan gods do in some places masquerade to-day as saints of Islam, and even of the Orthodox Church.[1] (D. G. Hogarth. *Presidential Address to the British Association*, Section H., 1907, p. 638).

The truest view is perhaps to be sought in a combination of (1) and (2) ; the patriarchs,[2] or at all events the principal ones, were real men, though certain features in their history may perhaps possess a tribal significance.

Abraham is regarded by many authorities as the contemporary of the great Babylonian king and legislator Hammurabi (about 2200 to 2000 B.C.) whose code of laws engraved on a stele of black diorite is familiar to visitors to the Louvre. If his identification with the Amraphel of Genesis xiv. be correct, then this ruler is the last point of contact which, when working our way backwards, we are able to find between archaeology and Old Testament history. No persons mentioned in the Bible before his time are definitely known to secular history, nor can their existence, if any, be proved from any extra-Biblical source. It does not,

[1] Loisy : *Religion of Israel*, Eng. Trans. (1910), p. 25, believes that Abraham and Sarah were ancient Palestinian divinities.

[2] Skinner : *Genesis* (International Critical Commentary), 37 ; Driver : *Genesis*, 45 and 46, and Frazer : *Folk Lore in the Old Testament* (1918), I. 391, argue in favour of the historicity of Abraham.

however, follow thereby that no such persons ever existed. It is, however, with the existence of only one of them, that our present task is concerned, namely, the first human being of all, and our next chapter will examine the question of his existence in the light of modern discoveries.

CHAPTER II

WAS THERE A "FIRST MAN"?

Catholic theology and man's origin—Science not unfavourable to the belief in the unity of the human race —It cannot prove it however—When did mankind originate? Where did it originate?

"IT is strange how long the belief in a first man lasted," the present writer once heard an ethnologist say to a lady who appeared never to have thought about the question. The belief, however, still survives within the Catholic Church, though it has undoubtedly lost ground outside of it. We will proceed, therefore, to adduce reasons to show that it is not so irrational as it is often assumed to be. There are two possible channels of information through which knowledge of the early history of mankind could have come down to us. The first of these is that of Divine Revelation, and the second is that of human investigation. Believers in orthodox Christianity look to both of these sources, while those who wholly or partially disbelieve in it look to the latter only, basing their rejection of the former, sometimes on their antecedent disbelief in the existence of God, or, at all events, in the kind of God who would take the trouble to make a revelation to man; sometimes also on the ground that human investigation has

shown the falsity of certain beliefs relating to man's origin, which were formerly believed to rest upon Divine authority. It must be frankly admitted that it is not unnatural that persons brought up under the influence of the old evangelical view of the Bible should have been led to take up this position. According to this view, all the statements in the Bible rested upon exactly the same authority, namely, that of the Bible itself; and it therefore follows logically from it that if the statements that the world had been created in six days, that the Creation had taken place 4004 B.C., and that a universal Deluge in 2348 B.C. had destroyed practically all living creatures, are untenable, then the statements which affirm the unity of the human race and the Fall of the first man may be set aside also, since the authority upon which they rest is *ex hypothesi* discredited, while they themselves have failed to receive scientific confirmation. To Catholics indeed the question is looked at from a somewhat different angle, since to them the Bible is not its own interpreter, but possesses an infallible interpreter in the Church, which determines which texts must be taken as literal facts and which need not be so regarded. This task has not yet reached completion, but it is abundantly clear that there are certain statements in the Bible with whose historicity the Christian faith is indissolubly bound up; in the Old Testament these are very few in number; but some

of them occur in that portion of the Bible with which we are especially concerned, namely, its opening chapters.

There are at least four propositions of this nature in the opening chapters of the Bible. They are (1) that the material universe owes its origin to the creative act of a benevolent Deity who is absolutely separate from it, so that it is neither the whole nor a part of Him; (2) that the soul of the first man was brought into being as the result of a special creative act of the Deity;[1] (3) that the whole human race is descended from a single pair; and (4) that the first man fell by his own free act from the "state of grace" in which he was originally placed. Now since each of these statements has been vigorously challenged in the name of scientific discovery, it behoves us to enquire whether the objections levelled against them are well or ill-founded: that is to say, whether they are really refuted by scientific facts, or whether the "facts" which are held to refute them are in reality not facts at all, but are merely arbitrary inferences drawn from other facts. Science can tell us nothing of the *absolute* origins of the physical universe, and the problem whether it was or was not "created" is one which pertains to metaphysics and lies outside the scope of anthropology.

[1] For the benefit of non-Catholic readers it may be pointed out here that the Church has never uttered her mind irrevocably upon the question of the manner in which the body of the first man came into [illegible]

The second point, namely, whether or no there has existed a continuous chain of mental development uniting man with the lower animals, lies upon the borderland between the sciences of anthropology and comparative psychology, but certainly pertains much more to the latter than to the former science. An affirmative answer was given to this question by Charles Darwin in his *Descent of Man* (1870), and has been accepted by a great majority of evolutionists. Three naturalists of great eminence, however—St. George Mivart (1827-1900), who during the period of his life in which his best work was produced, professed the Catholic faith, the French Protestant, Jean Louis Armand de Quatrefages (1810-1892), and another Englishman, Alfred Russell Wallace (1823-1913), who, having discarded the Protestant orthodoxy of his youth, became in his later years an exponent of the tenets of spiritualism — insisted upon restricting the application of the evolutionary hypothesis to the physical side of man and postulated a special creative act upon the part of the Deity to account for the origin of his higher psychic faculties. They stand, however, in a small minority, and the late Professor Romanes indeed sought to discount the value of their testimony to the "creationist" view of the origin of the human soul on the ground that their lines of defence of it were mutually exclusive.[1]

[1] *Mental Evolution in Man* (1888), p. 16 ff.

Non-theistic evolutionists are, of course, prevented by their dogmatic presuppositions from admitting the possibility of an abrupt break in the evolutionary process brought about by divine intervention, and have elaborated many hypotheses, some indeed possessing a certain superficial plausibility—others of a wholly fantastic nature—designed to bridge over the gulf between the human and the animal mind. Theistic evolutionists are of course, unshackled in this manner, but many of them appear indisposed to commit themselves to a theory of special creation on the ground that a natural explanation of a thing should always, if possible, be preferred to a supernatural one; this is, of course, often true, and a *good* natural explanation is to be preferred to a *bad* supernatural one; but the converse of this proposition is also true, and the fear of being driven to have recourse to a supernatural explanation ought not to compel us to acquiesce in a bad natural one, which in reality explains nothing at all. Probably Mivart was right when he assigned an important rôle to the imagination in producing the reluctance to believe that the "soul" of man is not the product of a blind evolutionary process, but has been created in the "image of God." "There is," he wrote, "a widely diffused prejudice amongst both the leaders and the followers of physical science which indisposes them to assert the existence of a fundamental difference of nature [*i.e.*,

between man and the lower animals]. We are persuaded that this prejudice is largely due to an imaginary cause. Many men feel strongly the difficulty of imagining the first advent of man upon this planet, or how a new creation could have been suddenly formed, or a new nature infused into one which already existed."[1]

Let us now pass on to the question which lies indisputably within the confines of anthropology. Have new facts been brought to light which disprove the truth of the Catholic doctrine that the human race is descended from a single pair of human ancestors? We will first consider the existing human races, and then proceed to the consideration of the position of the extinct pre-historic ones. Various classifications of mankind have been attempted since the time of Linnaeus. The great Swedish naturalist in a scheme which reflects in an amusing way the mentality of the eighteenth century recognised in his *Systema Naturae* four primary divisions of mankind.

(1) Homo Europaeus governed by laws.
(2) Homo Asiaticus ,, ,, opinions
(3) Homo Americanus ,, ,, customs
(4) Homo Africanus ,, ,, caprice.

Modern schemes of racial classification are, however, unencumbered by attempts to include mental qualities which can only impart the utmost confusion to the problem, and prefer to rely solely on physical criteria. The simplest of

[1] *Origin of Human Reason* (1889), p. 298.

all recognises only three primary races: "Homo Caucasicus," with skin white to light brown and wavy hair, and subdivided into the Nordic, Alpine, and Mediterranean races, inhabiting Northern and Central Europe and the Mediterranean basin, respectively; "Homo Mongolicus," with yellow skin and lank, straight hair, of whom the brown Malay race and the copper-coloured American race are now generally regarded as specialised offshoots; "Homo Aethiopicus" with black skin and woolly or frizzy hair. Did these races of mankind become differentiated from one another in some pre-human stage of development, or was the common ancestor a being whom we should regard as human if we were to encounter him in the flesh? In answering this question, let us bear in mind that all of them possess the power of articulate speech, that all share in common certain ideas, such as those underlying the belief in Animism, in Magic, and Taboo, and that all further share certain ethical concepts—not indeed very many—such as those condemning indiscriminate homicide, theft, and sexual promiscuity. Now no people has ever been discovered without the power of speech, or entirely without what we may loosely speak of as religion, and we have no records of any speechless or irreligious tribe having learnt from its neighbours how to talk or to believe in supernatural powers.[1]

It therefore seems not unreasonable to believe

[1] E. B. Tylor: *Primitive Culture*, 5th ed. (1913), I, 418.

that the common ancestors of the white, yellow, and black varieties of mankind also possessed these fundamental qualities which they have in common. Let us now consider the extinct pre-historic races of mankind. There is not the slightest doubt as to the complete humanity of the reindeer-hunters of France, or of the later Palaeolithic races generally, and we therefore make no unreasonable assumption in supposing that the common ancestor linking them with the existing races of mankind was also human. Even Neanderthal man, in spite of his brutish appearance, appears to have been acquainted with the practice of ceremonial interment, though there seems to be a curious reluctance on the part of certain writers to draw from this fact its most obvious conclusion, owing to their presuppositions with regard to the mental development of early man. In support of the psychic argument for the unity of mankind Keane in his *Ethnology* (first edition (1909), p. 160), still quotes with approval the words of an old-world naturalist: "The same inward and mental nature is to be recognised in all races of men. When we compare this fact with the observation, fully established, as to the specific instincts and separate psychical endowments of all the distinct races of sentient beings in the universe, we are entitled to draw confidently the conclusion, that all human races are of one species and one family." (Pritchard, *Natural History of Man*, p. 488). Even setting

aside, however, the possibility of a supernatural revelation with regard to man's origin, it does not appear to be an extravagant hypothesis to regard "Homo Aurignacensis" and "Homo Neanderthalensis" as being respectively the progressive and degenerate descendants of an ancestor who possessed those mental qualities which they share in common, and if we believe in such a revelation we shall hold that this ancestor was the being whom God endowed with "a living soul." There remain, however, to be considered the Heidelberg man, the Piltdown man, and the Java "man." Were they also "sons of Adam"? They have left us with no remains of the state of culture to which they had attained except, perhaps, the bat-shaped bone implement found at Piltdown. Nevertheless, if the more liberal allowance in the way of cranial capacity postulated by Professor Keith,[1] be allowed in the place of the less liberal one of Dr. Smith Woodward, who allowed to "Eoanthropus Dawsoni" only 1070 c.c.,[2] we have no hesitation in regarding this being, who lacked the receding forehead and heavy supraorbital ridges of the caveman, as of definitely human mentality.

The exact position of "Homo-Heidelbergensis" in the genealogical tree of the "Homini-

[1] Keith considers that "we have grounds for believing that the Piltdown man had reached that point of brain development where speech had become a possibility." If, however, the mandible belonged to the skull then he hesitates to allow him more than "a mere potential ability." (*Op. cit.*, 408).

[2] This authority seems now prepared to allow to the Piltdown man a cranial capacity of 1300 c.c.—*Discovery*, July, 1922, p. 182.

dae" cannot be determined with certainty. Dr. W. L. H. Duckworth has indeed suggested that the Mauer mandible might be articulated to the cranium of "Pithecanthropus" and suggests that the presence of the one in Germany and of the other in Java argues a wide distribution of an early ancestral type, but Keith holds that the jaw is too massive to be articulated to a cranium of only 900 c.c.[1]

The prudent and well-balanced judgment of the French anthropologist Marcellin Boule, connects the possessor of the Heidelberg mandible closely with Neanderthal man, "les mandibules d'Homo Neanderthalensis" he writes, "se rapprochent de la mandibule d'Homo Heidelbergensis par la forme génerále, la robustesse, les dimensions de sorte que si l'on articule la mâchoire de Mauer au crâne de la Chapelle, l'aspect général de la tête osseuse est peu changé."[2]

The same writer regards the Trinil calvaria as having belonged to an extinct giant species of "gibbon."[3] Possibly the femur found near it was, however, human, since Dr. Dubois in 1919 communicated to the Royal Society of Amsterdam an account of two skulls of Australoid type with large cranial capacity which he had found in Pleistocene strata in Java, prior to the discovery of "Pithecanthropus Erectus." The doctrine of the descent of the human race from

[1] Duckworth: *Pre-Historic Man*, first ed. (1912), pp. 14-16.
[2] *Op. cit.*, 244. [3] *Ib.* 107.

one pair is in no way invalidated by recent scientific discoveries, and we may conclude provisionally that from this pair of beings sprang, not merely from all the existing varieties of man, but "H. Aurignacensis," "H. Neanderthalensis," "Eoanthropus Dawsoni," probably "H. Heidelbergensis," but not, most likely, "Pithecanthropus Erectus," unless, indeed, he were a microcephalic idiot. Let us now pass to further questions: namely, when did our first ancestor live, and where did he live? It would not appear that the answer to either of these questions is bound up inextricably with any Christian dogma, since if it be granted that there is a fundamental difference of nature between man and the lower animals, so that the former is capable of enjoying a moral union with his Creator, while the latter are not, it seems to matter little to the Christian scheme of things when and where mankind originated. Nevertheless, on the strength of the chronology of Archbishop Ussher man's creation came to be regarded as having taken place in 4004 B.C., and the traditional interpretation of Genesis iii. has located it in South Western Asia. It is now, however, widely admitted that not only the number of years allowed by the chronology of the Hebrew version of the Old Testament, but also the slightly more liberal allowances of the Septuagint and the Version of the Pentateuch preserved by the Samaritan community at Nablus

are totally inadequate to meet the requirements of ethnology and archaeology.[1]

As we have already pointed out, archaeologists tell us that in the Levant the Neolithic stage of culture was reached about 8000 B.C., while the most moderate estimates place the Magdalenian or last phase of the Palaeolithic culture in France about 8000—7000 B.C.[2]

The Neolithic and subsequent cultures belong to the Holocene and the Palaeolithic to the Pleistocene period. In the latter period the widely accepted theory of the geologists Penck and Brückner postulates four glacial periods and three genial inter-glacial intervals. The Swedish geologist, Baron de Geer, has estimated that the retreat of the ice after the last glacial phase from Southern Scania began some 15,000 years ago.[3]

If this estimate (far more modest than some) be correct, it will give us a sort of clue for estimating the total duration of the Pleistocene age with its successive invasions and retreats of the ice in Northern and Central Europe; but we are on notoriously treacherous ground since these processes did not most likely proceed always at a uniform rate. Some would place the Chellean period with its warm fauna in the

[1] The LXX places the Creation of man in 5328 B.C. and the Deluge in 3066 B.C. The Samaritan Pentateuch assigns these events to 4243 B.C. and 2963 B.C. respectively. Perhaps the Biblical writers made use of a symbolic chronology.

[2] Boule (*op. cit.*, p. 60) places the end of the Glacial period in France about 10,000 years ago.

[3] See O. Montelius: "Palaeolothic Implements found in Scania," in the *Antiquaries Journal*, April, 1921, pp. 98-99.

first inter-glacial interval, others in the second, and others again in the third. Boule assigns the Heidelberg man to the Chellean period, and the Piltdown man to the succeeding Acheulean one, though he cautiously refrains from attempting to translate into years the time separating these periods from our own. Of those who have essayed this task, the writers who favour the highest estimates are often anatomists who lack a geological training, and among them must be counted the distinguished Hunterian professor at the Royal College of Surgeons who once was imprudent enough to assign to Neanderthal man an antiquity of from 500,000 to 1,500,000 years![1] Of estimates at the other extreme, Boule writes "Les plus moderés ont été influencés certainement par les idées philosophiques ou religieuses de leurs auteurs."[2]

At whatever distance from us, however reckoned in millennia, the Chellean implements were fashioned, they are now no longer regarded as the earliest products of man's handiwork.

Certainly these specimens of finished workmanship cannot be the first rude efforts of prehistoric man to fashion tools, and it seems most reasonable to suppose that the age of stone was itself preceded by an age of wood. Heated discussion has long centred around the question of the possible existence of Tertiary man and the alleged products of his industry, to which some

[1] *Ancient Types of Men* (1911), p. 102. [2] *Op. cit.*, p. 61.

have applied the term Eolithic, and others that of pre-Palaeolithic. On the whole, it may perhaps be said that the opinion which is gaining ground is that which recognises the genuineness of at least some of these implements.[1]

There is, however, another line of evidence along which attempts have been made to solve the problem of man's antiquity, and that is by forming estimates of the time which it must have taken for the various races of mankind to have developed their respective physical attributes, though ethnologists are hampered by the uncertainty which surrounds the question of what are the most powerful factors which contribute towards the production of the phenomena of racial differentiation. The possibility that the human race possessed greater plasticity in early times is one which must not be left out of account, and it appears that certain geographical environments will always prove favourable to the production of certain well-marked physical types. "It is said," writes Dr. E. A. Westermarck, "that the curly hair of the European tends to become straight in

[1] *Man*, April, 1922, p. 54; also M. C. Burkitt, *Pre-History*, (1920) p. 82. It is curious in this connection to remember that the first advocate of Tertiary man in Europe was a French Abbé, M. Bourgeois, who as far back as 1867 warmly supported the claim of certain broken flints found in Upper Oligocene beds at Thenay, near Orleans to be regarded as human artefacts. The possibility must, of course, always be borne in mind that there may have existed some tool-using animals other than man during the Tertiary epoch.

America—like the hair of an Indian; that in North America and New South Wales, children of European parents are apt to become tall and lean; and that there is a contrary tendency among European colonists at the Cape to grow fat—which reminds us of the Steatopygy of the native women."[1]

The Caucasic, Mongoloid and Negro races would appear to have been in existence during the Neolithic age. But the history of their evolution during the Pleistocene cannot yet be unravelled; indeed, we must of necessity remain in ignorance with regard to the colour of the skin and the texture of the hair of fossil man. We cannot apply to him the same categories of classification as those to which we can subject the existing races of mankind. The later Palaeolithic races of Europe had, so it would seem, some affinities with the Caucasian race, and the remains of a race generally considered to possess Negroid characters, and called the Grimaldi race, have been found on the Riviera. This race was probably contemporaneous with Neanderthal man, and an immigrant into Europe from Africa.

A few words must now be added on the question of the place of man's origin, since Christian, following Jewish tradition, has for centuries located it in South Western Asia.[2]

[1] *History of Human Marriage*, 5th ed. (1921), Vol. II. pp. 17-18.

[2] This belief is of course based upon the names of the rivers given in Genesis ii, 11-14. "It is a tribute," writes Dr. L. W. King, "to the historical accuracy of Hebrew tradition to recognise that it

What has modern science to say on this point? Evolutionists have naturally been prone to locate man's original home in those parts of the world in which dwell the animals whose anatomical resemblance to him is greatest. For this reason the candidature of the New World for the distinction of having given birth to our early ancestors has met with but few supporters, owing to the complete absence therefrom not only of any of the Anthropomorpha, but also of any species of Catarrhine ape, the Primates having in that part of the world no higher representatives than the Platyrrhine "Cebidae."[1]

Darwin[2] was led by the presence therein of two species of anthropomorphous apes, the gorilla and the chimpanzee (of whom the former approaches man in bulk more closely than other of the Simiidae), to place man's early home in Africa.

More modern writers have, as a whole, tended to prefer Asia, Australasia, or a supposed continent now submerged beneath the Indian ocean. Boule contents himself with suggesting that man originated in Asia, Haddon in Southern Asia;[3] while Keane has supposed that this event

never represented Palestine as the cradle of the human race." *Legends of Egypt and Babylonia in relation to Hebrew tradition* (1918), p. 40.

[1] The Old World apes are called *catarrhina* and the New World ones *platyrrhina*, the former possessing a narrow and the latter a wide nasal septum.

[2] *Descent of Man*, Vol. I, 2nd ed. (1878), p. 340.

[3] *Wanderings of Peoples* (1911), p. 15.

occured in a vanished Indo-African or Austral continent basing his belief on the present, range of distribution of the apes and lemurs.[1] There have, however, been a few dissentient voices. De Quatrefages supposed that man originated within the Arctic circle at a time when Spitzbergen enjoyed a temperate climate.[2] Wallace (*Darwinism*, p. 459) held that the great Eur-Asiatic plateau was the birthplace of man, arguing that "in such a region he would develop skill as a hunter, trapper, or fisherman, and later as a herdsman or cultivator." The late Professor Giuffrida-Ruggeri of Naples, has also placed his "Protohominidae" in Central Asia.[3]

The American anthropologist Daniel Brinton, who believed that man had originated as a "Mutation," or "Sport"—a compromise between the "Special Creation" and evolutionist theories—favoured Europe as the birthplace of man. Still more recently, Mr. Reid Moir has pressed the claims of East Anglia to have been the home of the earliest men.[4] These divergencies of opinion will suffice to show that science has not yet given her verdict upon this question.

We may conclude then by saying that the old controversy between the monogenists and the polygenists which raged so fiercely during the '60's and '70's of the last century has now

[1] *Op. cit.* 236. [2] Keane, *ib.* 232.
[3] *Su l'origine dell'Uomo*, Bologna (1922), p. 131.
[4] *Pre-Palaeolithic Man*, (1920), pp. 60 ff.

largely died down, the palm of victory appearing to rest with the former. The fact of the psychic unity of the human race, together with the circumstance that inter-racial fertility has prevailed to an apparently indefinite extent among the "Hominidae" has rendered improbable the view that the various races of man have evolved from separate stocks of hypothetical anthropoid precursors in different parts of the earth. Science cannot, however, prove that all existing races of mankind are descended from a single pair, and for this belief we must rely upon Revelation.

CHAPTER III

THE FALL OF MAN AND THE ORIGINS OF CIVILISATION

Meaning of the doctrine—Relation of Biblical story to Pagan parallels—Stages of civilisation—Evolution of culture—Degeneration of culture

HAVING considered the unity of mankind, we will now pass to the question of his "Fall." We will not here touch upon the alleged "moral" difficulties which beset this doctrine, as they almost always spring from a complete misunderstanding of it.[1]

The belief that the human race fell from a state of primeval innocence through the sin of its first parents, and that in consequence of that sin each member of the race has lost the supernatural gifts which were destined as man's heritage is an article of the Catholic faith. The supposition that each member of the race became involved in the effects of the fall of its first parents, is made by St. Paul the cornerstone of his doctrine of salvation (Romans v. 12; 1 Cor. xv. 21, 22). Whether or not this event did actually occur, cannot of course be determined by scientific enquiry, since, as we have pointed out, it is impossible to

[1] Whether in its Calvinistic form the doctrine is an immoral one, is a wholly different question.

obtain direct confirmation from any extraneous source of the historicity of any person mentioned in the Bible earlier than the time of Hammurabi.[1]

Noah, of course, is the outstanding figure in Biblical history between Abraham and Adam, from whom he is represented as being the tenth in descent. The Babylonian version of the Flood has long been known, but no such version of the Fall has yet been forthcoming, though there exists in the British Museum a cylinder engraved with a representation of a man and a woman sitting on each side of a tree, while at the back of the woman is a wavy line regarded by some as a serpent, but by others thought to be merely ornamental.[2]

From what source did the narrative of the Fall reach the Jews? It occurs in one of those sections of the Hexateuch to which it has become customary to refer under the symbol J, and most modern scholars believe these sections to be the work of a scribe who lived in the Southern Kingdom during the ninth century B.C.[3]

A double narrative is usually held to run through Genesis i—xi. The sections not be-

[1] Unless indeed any of the attempts to identify Nimrod "the mighty hunter before the Lord" (Genesis x. 9) with one of the Assyrio-Babylonian kings can be regarded as successful.

[2] The Babylonian Legend of Adapa has certain features resembling the story of the Fall, but Adapa was not the first man. He was the favourite of Ea, and lost the gift of immortality, symbolised by the food and water of life, through the treachery of Anu.

[3] Driver allows that *J* was written 9th or 10th century B.C. Art. "Bible (Old Testament)" *Enc. Brit.* 11th ed.

longing to J have been assigned by the majority of scholars to a priestly writer of the time of Ezra (about 440 B.C.), and are referred to under the symbol P. Some have argued, however, that P is older than J. It would of course be foolish for a writer unacquainted with Hebrew to pronounce an opinion upon the value of these modern critical attempts to reconstruct the literary history of the Pentateuch, and indeed it is wholly unnecessary for our purpose that any such attempt should be made. Even if it could be conclusively proved by the upholders of tradition that every syllable of it emanated from the pen of Moses, the story of the Fall could not upon that account put forward a stronger claim to credibility than it would posses if written by an unknown scribe in the kingdom of Judah, about a century after the division of the monarchy. The few centuries of increased antiquity which it would thus acquire, were its Mosaic authorship indisputably demonstrated, would form but a very small fraction of the time which must have elapsed between the event in question and the date at which the Pentateuch was committed to writing.

We cannot, however, assume that the story of the Fall was unknown before the compilation of the book of Genesis, and the Nomadic Semites perhaps learned it from the agricultural Sumerians when the former invaded Chaldea from Arabia (possibly in the fourth millennium

B.C.), as appears to have been the case with the Creation and Deluge narratives.[1]

It is, however, as likely that the Semites had some independent tradition of the Fall of their own, inherited from a time before their linguistic peculiarities had originated. Many individual features in the story find their parallels features in the story of the Fall find their parallels in ethnic traditions, and it seems not unlikely that the writer took over the conceptions of a terrestrial Paradise and of the Tree of Knowledge from a Chaldean ancestry.[2]

Before we can answer the question whether

[1] L. W. King, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

[2] Canon van Hoonacker, of Louvain, writes: "the author never meant to state that the sin of the first man really or properly consisted in the eating of the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge no more than the prophet Ezekiel meant to state that the King of Tyre had really been thrown out of the Garden of the Elohim and cast to the ground before the kings and brought to ashes in the sight of all who beheld him. The Tree of Knowledge with the whole scenery of the Garden is nothing in the narrative of the Fall but outward form and framework taken over from popular lore in order to serve as a picturesque setting for the author's teaching. The teaching was that the first men forfeited their original happiness and privileges by transgressing a positive law of God." "Is the narrative of the Fall a myth?" *Expositor*, Vol. 68, p. 394. Lenormant also tells us that oracular trees are to be met with in Babylonian mythology: *Les Origines de l'Histoire*, Vol. I, p. 85. A district called Eden appears to have been identified in Southern Babylonia (*Geographical Journal*, Aug. 1912, p. 147). The Masai of East Africa who possess a strain of Hamatic blood, believe that Paradise was the result of the fertilisation of the barren earth by the blood of a huge dragon slain by God. (Compare Babylonian myth of conflict between Tiamat and Marduk). The first man and his wife were forbidden to taste of one of the trees of Paradise; the woman was tempted to eat by a serpent; she and her husband partook of the fruit, and as a punishment were expelled from Paradise. Semitic influence is here, of course, obvious. Art. "Fall" (Ethnic) Hastings, *Enc. of Religion and Ethics*.

the myths of a " golden age " so widely diffused throughout the non-Christian world are distorted versions of that " Fall " about which the Church teaches us, or whether they have originated in the inveterate tendency of mankind to regard the past as shrouded in a golden haze and to contrast its present ills with the supposed bliss of former ages, it may be said that a most careful classification of them and an enquiry into their geographical and racial distribution would have to be carried out. This investigation would, moreover, have to be coupled with an attempt to ascertain whether they were passed from one race to another or originated independently, before an answer possessing any claim to finality could be given. As we shall point out later, it does not appear to be legitimate to regard all the Deluge narratives as possessing one common source; it would therefore be precarious to postulate one rashly for the stories of a Fall which would *ex hypothesi* be far older.

Nevertheless the belief that man's relations with the Unseen are not normal is one which pervades all the religions of the world. This fact was recognised by William James, who wrote " there is a certain uniform deliverance in which all religions appear to meet. It consists of two parts :—

1. An uneasiness; and
2. Its solution.

" 1. The uneasiness, reduced to its simplest

terms, is a sense that there is *something wrong about us* as we naturally stand.

"2. The solution is a sense that *we are saved from the wrongness* by making proper connection with the higher powers," *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (1909), p. 508. It need scarcely be added that this is what we should expect on the supposition that the Fall actually *did* occur.

The most obvious objection which the sceptic brings against the doctrine in question is that, granting the high antiquity of the human race and the fact that the memory of primitive peoples is but short, it is absolutely impossible that any knowledge of an event which, if it took place at all, must have occurred at a time most remote from our own, could have come down to us. To this we reply: "It is quite impossible by *natural* means, but not by *supernatural* ones." We then await the irritated retort: "what particle of evidence have you for supposing that God (if He exists) ever has communicated such supernatural information to mankind?" Such a question should be answered in the following way: if a Deity who is benevolently disposed towards mankind does exist, it is not unreasonable to believe that He should in some extraordinary way communicate to it a knowledge of the facts essential to its happiness, facts to which, by the light of his unaided reason man cannot attain. Now men have often attained by the light of their reason to

belief in a Creator, but no man could, without supernatural revelation, learn that his Creator had destined him for the enjoyment of the Beatific Vision to which destiny he had lost the right through the sin of his first ancestors. In order, therefore, that men may recover this right, they must first know that it has been lost by the Fall. God, therefore, *either* made provision that the knowledge of the Fall should never entirely die out, but be handed on (partly, perhaps, in a parabolic form) from generation to generation during thousands of years, and ultimately come, most likely through the Sumerians, to the Semitic ancestors of the Israelites, who incorporated it into their sacred books until the day when through the Christian Church it was to be communicated to the rest of mankind ; *or* when the tradition had practically died out, He revealed it to Moses or to some other Hebrew writer.

The popular objection is often raised that the Biblical doctrine of the Fall is inconsistent with what science has taught us with regard to the origin of the arts of life ; in other words, that the Bible depicts early man at a relatively high state of culture, whereas science has shown us that he was at a very low one. This view has found expression in a rather pompously worded notice at the entrance of the Pitt-Rivers Museum at Oxford, which states that one of the objects of the collection is to " aid in the solution of the problem whether *man* has arisen from a con-

dition resembling the brutes, or fallen from a high state of perfection." This question will be found, on analysis, to be a rather meaningless one. There are many kinds of perfection; and the kind of perfection with which the Church teaches us that man was originally endowed consisted in the perfect subjection of his lower nature to his reason. Now whether or no this was the case, the valuable collection of ethnographical material which owes its inception to the industry of the late General Pitt Rivers and of Sir E. Tylor is not in a position to enlighten us. Far be it from the present writer, however, to utter a syllable in disparagement of this most valuable institution, which under the able direction of Professor Henry Balfour has become a veritable mine of information for the student of comparative technology, and which most certainly tends to confirm the opinion that the earliest men of whose culture we possess traces, started at the bottom of the ladder of civilisation. It will thus become apparent that the conflict which raged in the last century between the "evolution" and "degeneration" hypotheses, and in which the protagonists were Lubbock and Tylor on the one side, and Archbishop Whateley and the eighth Duke of Argyll on the other, was to a large extent a barren one. It is difficult, however, not to believe that certain Victorian men of science, or at least their followers, took a malicious delight in shocking their elders whose conception of

primitive man was that of Adam and Eve enjoying an idyllic existence in the Garden of Eden, by depicting him as an unclean and uncouth monster wholly given over to senseless orgies of lust and violence. Nevertheless, the phenomena of both progress and degeneration in human culture have occurred, and we cannot entirely brush aside the question where exactly in the cultural scale did human life begin? Certain epoch-making discoveries do indeed divide the history of human culture into well-defined phases, but as changes were gradual and did not take place everywhere simultaneously, divisions must be to some extent arbitrary. The American sociologist, Lewis H. Morgan (1818-1881) recognised six stages of man's progress towards civilisation : three of savagery and three of barbarism.[1]

1. The period of the older savagery which closed when man discovered the use of fire; 2. the middle savagery which lasted till the invention of the bow and arrow; 3. the later savagery, terminating in the elevation of the level of culture by the discovery of the art of ceramics; 4. the older barbarism which carries us forward to the day when man ceased to be dependent upon hunting for his sustenance, owing to his having learned to domesticate animals; 5. the middle barbarism, which continued till he became acquainted with the art of smelting iron; and 6. the later barbarism.

[1] *Ancient Society* (1877), pp. 10, 11.

culminating in the invention of writing which marked the dawn of civilisation. Now it is of course perfectly obvious that man must have passed through all these stages, since the only alternative supposition is one which, no one were of divine institution. The only question which is here to our purpose is how long did the earlier stages last? The Bible, if interpreted as literal history, would lead us to suppose that the second generation of mankind had already attained to the pastoral and agricultural phases of society, and had built a "city"; while Tubalcain, the seventh in descent from Adam is represented as the father of metallurgy. The impossibility of a literal interpretation of the history of the ante-diluvian patriarchs is, however, made plain for us by the fact that the Book of Genesis only allows nine generations between Adam and Abraham (*circ.* 2300–2000 B.C.) holds, namely, that the arts and sciences —a number of course totally inadequate to constitute anything but a tiny fraction of the time required by pre-historic archaeology. We should therefore surely be dealing in an arbitrary manner with the Biblical text if we were to deny the possibility of the existence of countless generations between the Fall and the attainment by man of the arts of domesticating animals, of cultivating cereals, and of forging implements of metal. Let us now proceed to examine the question whether the facts which are at present available warrant the conclusion

that the whole of our race was for a long time in a state of savagery. Adopting the invention of writing as the criterion which is to mark the transition from barbarism to civilisation, it does not admit of any doubt that throughout far the greater part of his existence man has been illiterate. We derive our alphabet from Italy; the old Italian alphabets owed their origin to Greek influences; while the Greeks in their turn acquired the alphabet from the Phoenicians. Whether, however, the alphabet was an original contribution made by this people towards the mental advancement of the race, or whether it came into existence under Cretan or Egyptian influence has been disputed. Ancient peoples to whom the alphabet was known made use of syllabaries, while these latter were in their turn preceded by pictography and such devices as the Peruvian Quipu or the employment of knotted cord for mnemonic purposes; still lower down on the ladder of culture we meet with the notched message stick. The study of the history of writing shows us that the path by which man attained to its use was a long and steep one. We have seen (Chapter I) that man was already old before he began to smelt iron and thus emerge from the "middle barbarism." In treating of the earlier stages of his progress, we are upon less certain ground. Wherever we have traces of Palaeolithic man we know that he was a hunter; possibly, the dog was the first animal to be

domesticated, and this even in the Palaeolithic age.[1]

We may, however, find, when as much comes to be known of the pre-historic archaeology of Asia, as is known, for instance, of that of France and Spain, that man was a shepherd and an agriculturalist in Asia long before he was in Europe. The practice of domesticating animals and of cultivating cereals may have originated independently in different parts of the earth, or may have been diffused from a common centre. The same is true of the art of ceramics, apparently unknown in Europe before the Mesolithic age. The earlier Palaeolithic peoples were unfamiliar with the bow and arrow, though arrow-heads are to be met with in upper Palaeolithic strata. Morgan's "middle savagery" period is the lowest at which any people known to us has been found; the supposition that the whole human race remained for long in the period of the "older savagery," namely, unacquainted with the most elementary uses of fire, is a pure postulate of ethnology, and without positive evidence in its favour. Human life under such conditions would have been truly appalling[2].

Indeed, on the supposition that the human

[1] Man would appear to have already tamed this animal at the time of his arrival in Australia. (F. Wood-Jones *Problem of Man's Ancestry*, p. 42.)

[2] The Andamanese, at the time when their culture first came under European observation, are said to have been unable to kindle fire, though possessed of its use. This statement, however, has been disputed.

mind differs "essentially" from the animal mind, it is unlikely that such a period would have existed, since, although the production of fire by artificial means was an acquisition of slow development, nevertheless, man would have been intelligent enough at the outset of his career to have taken advantage of conflagrations caused by lightning to harness for his use this most valuable servant. Before a complete history of human culture can be written, however, it will be necessary to investigate the pre-historic archaeology of the entire world with the same degree of thoroughness as has been employed in South-Western France; and it is essential to bear in mind, if we are tempted to visualise a day when all mankind was at an "Australian" or an "Andamanese" level of culture, that these peoples are in point of time as far removed from primitive man as we are. Unfavourable geographical environments have often retarded human culture and have in certain cases actually caused degeneration, towards the production of which wars and famines have powerfully contributed. Our own generation has indeed witnessed a great setback to the clock of civilisation throughout Central and Eastern Europe in consequence of a destructive war. The fact of the degeneration of culture is now more widely recognised than was the case a decade ago. In the article "Anthropology" in the 11th edition of the *Ency. Brit.*, 1911,

Tylor wrote: "Had the Australians or New Zealanders for instance, ever possessed the potter's art, they could hardly have forgotten it." Yet in striking contrast to the statement just quoted, a paper was read at the meeting of the British Association in the following year by the lamented Dr. W. H. R. Rivers, of St. John's College, Cambridge, on "The Disappearance of Useful Arts." This paper was so important that I will quote in full the abstract of it given in the Report of the Association for 1912 (pp. 598-599).

"In many parts of Oceania there is evidence that objects so useful as the canoe, pottery, and the bow and arrow have once been present in places where they are now unknown, or exist only in degenerate form. It is often impossible to find adequate motives for this loss in such obvious factors as lack of raw material or unsuitability to a new environment. Social factors, not at once obvious, and even magical or religious beliefs and practices have to be brought in to explain the loss. The limitation of the manufacture of useful objects to small bodies of craftsmen liable to be destroyed through disease or war has probably been an important factor, but this alone would not have been sufficient if the religious character of the craft had not prevented other members of the community from following it when the craftsmen disappeared. Some of the widely accepted theories of anthropology depend on the assumption that useful

arts would never be allowed to lapse. This assumption, which rests on the application of our utilitarian standards of conduct to cultures widely different from our own, has been shown to be without justification. If Islanders can lose the canoe, of what elements of culture can we say that they could never have been lost ? "

It would seem that a reconciliation of the Biblical point of view with the facts of science (as distinguished from the assumptions of scientists) might be attempted on some such lines as these. In the very beginning there existed a race of intelligent men. This is surely not altogether an unreasonable supposition, since if there is anything in the biological doctrine that the history of the individual recapitulates the history of the race we may infer that the backward races of mankind, such as the Negro and the Australian, are to some extent mental degenerates, since the children of these races are up to a certain age as intelligent as white children, though after this their intelligence stagnates. May we not infer from this fact that the common ancestor of the white man and the black man was more intelligent than the latter ? At the outset of his career, however, man misused the gift of moral responsibility which God had given him, and in consequence lost the dominion of his reason over his lower nature. We may suppose that his original home-land was in a climate where nature was bountiful and a livelihood could be secured

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without exertion. With the coming of sin, however, internecine strife would rapidly set in, and as the race increased, outlying groups would be pushed further and further afield into less hospitable latitudes. By a process of natural selection the descendants of these groups developed large jaws, which were advantageous to them, owing to the coarseness of the food upon which they subsisted. They are represented by the Neanderthal and Heidelberg races. Certain of the most elementary arts, including a rudimentary form of agriculture, were acquired perhaps before the original dispersion of man. Metallurgy does not appear, however, to have been practised till a much later period. The tribes who remained near the original homeland preserved these arts, and gradually improved upon them, while among outlying peoples they were often lost altogether, and only slowly and laboriously re-acquired. This surely is quite consistent with the biblical narrative which lays stress on the fact that it was after and not before the Fall that the arts and crafts were evolved.

APPENDIX

THE DELUGE OF GENESIS, vi. 5.—viii. 19

THE above has been written on the assumption that the Biblical Deluge did not involve the destruction of more than a relatively small portion of the race. The orthodoxy of this view has been shown in an article by M. l'abbé Edouard Mangenot, in the late M. Vigouroux's *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, written at a time when the evidence in its favour was not so strong as is the case to-day. "Si les sciences," says this author, "établissaient par une demonstration rigoureuse ou par un ensemble d'indications précises et convergentes la non-universalité anthropologique du déluge on devrait admettre que le récit biblique ne s'y oppose pas." Vol. II, col. 1356. Four theories have, been discussed with regard to the catastrophe: (1) that it covered the entire land surface of the earth, destroying all life, both human and animal, outside the ark; (2) that it covered but a comparatively small portion of the earth's surface, but, however, all that part of it which was occupied by man at the time at which it occurred, so that the race was in consequence reduced to some eight persons; (3) that the inundation merely affected one district and its inhabitants, leaving untouched

the inhabitants of other parts of the earth; and (4) that the story of the Flood is an astral myth.

The first of these views has long since been abandoned, while the fourth, which in this country found a defender in the learned but eccentric Canon Cheyne, is fundamentally unscientific. The second view has found favour with many Catholic apologists, who have professed to find support for it in the traditions of a great flood which are to be found so widely scattered over the face of the earth. Is it possible to believe that all refer to some mighty catastrophe which overtook the human race when in its infancy? It must be confessed that there are grave objections to this view: since if it be held, it is difficult to see how the tradition of the Flood should have been unknown to the Egyptians and to most of the Indo-European peoples and yet have survived among the Polynesians and the American red-skins. It is true that diluvial traditions existed in ancient Greece, but what is easier than to suppose that they were comparatively late borrowings from Babylonia? The tradition of the great Babylonian flood may also have been wafted along with migrations of culture to other parts of the earth, and adapted to local conditions rather than brought by the first immigrants. There must have been many great floods in the world's history, and the legends found in the Pacific and in America need of necessity

indicate no more than the capacity of such catastrophes to impress themselves on the memory of a people. Sir J. G. Frazer may even be right in believing that in certain flood legends even the slenderest historical basis is lacking, and that they are nothing but "aetiological" myths, framed to account for some feature of the landscape. There appear, however, to be certain difficulties within the Biblical text itself which militate against the view that the Flood destroyed all mankind but the family of Noah; for we read (Genesis vii. 20, 21) that Jabal was the father of such as *dwell* in tents, and that his brother Jubal was the father of such as *handle* the harp and pipe; phrases surely unintelligible if all their descendants were supposed at the time of the author to have been drowned in the Deluge. The theory which we are considering appears also to do violence to the text which reads, "And all flesh died that moved upon the earth, both fowl and cattle, and beast, and every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth, and every man," (Genesis vii. 21 (R.V.)) This text makes no distinction between the destruction of human and animal life, and no one now ventures to suggest that all animal life perished, since the present distribution of mammalian life on the surface of the globe appears to be fatal to such a view. This difficulty is of course obviated if we take the "earth" to be the "neighbourhood." Finally, if we take the view that all outside the ark perished we must

relegate the flood to a date before the beginning of the Palaeolithic age in Europe (at least, so it would seem, 25,000 years ago). If, however, we take the view which we have numbered (3), we may suppose that the Hebrew, Babylonian and lately discovered Sumerian stories preserve in a poetic form the recollection of a destructive inundation which occurred in Mesopotamia, perhaps as late as 6000 B.C., from which a small number of persons were saved in consequence of a divine warning. Science cannot of course prove that this last circumstance did occur, but can certainly allege no valid objection against it. It should, however, be added that up to the present this view has not been greatly favoured by Catholic writers.

CHAPTER IV

THE RELIGIOUS BELIEFS OF THE EARLIEST MEN

Belief in a primitive revelation—Its decline—Alternative theories to account for the origin of religion—Monotheism—Its origin in Israel—The Judaeo-Christian tradition—General characteristics of primitive religion—Causes of decline of monotheism—Present position of the question.

THE belief that religion in the sense of a recognition of God's existence, though not of the existence of an elaborate cultus is coeval with the human race, is of course a part of the Catholic faith, and indeed a necessary corollary of the doctrine of the Fall. The Reformers, finding this doctrine in the Bible, also adopted it, and it prevailed generally in Europe down to the middle of the last century, though here and there a sceptic was to be found who would attribute the origin of religion to deliberate imposture. It seemed to follow from belief in a primitive revelation that non-Christian religious systems would be found, if carefully analysed, to be but corruptions of a primitive monotheistic creed. Even a writer standing apart from the main current of orthodox Protestantism, the English Deist, Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury (1583-1648), brother of the author of the *Country Parson*, sought in his

De Religione Gentilium to deduce evidence of the existence of this creed from the materials then available for the study of Pagan religions. In the earlier part of the nineteenth century similar efforts were frequently made, and George Eliot, in *Middlemarch*, has in her portrait of the tiresome Mr. Casaubon, with his never-to-be-finished "Key to all Mythologies," depicted for us the attitude towards the problem adopted by many writers some ninety years ago. This attitude found its last classical exposition in the writings of Mr. Gladstone. In the year before the appearance of the *Origin of Species* he wrote: "The earliest scriptural narrative presents to our view, with considerable distinctness, three main objects. They are respectively God, The Redeemer, and The Evil One." He continues, "Let us observe how these traditions severally find their imperfect and deranged counter-parts in the heroic age of Greece. First as to the Godhead. Its unity and supremacy is represented by Jupiter, as the administrator of sovereign power. The combination of Unity with Trinity is reproduced in the three Kronid brothers, Jupiter, Neptune, Pluto or Aidoneus; all born of the same parents and having different regions of the material creation severally assigned to them by lot. Next as to the Redeemer. The first form of the tradition is chiefly represented in Apollo . . . the character undergoes a marked disentegration by severance in two distinct

parts . . . certain of its qualities are apparently transferred to his sister, Diana. The second form of the tradition is that of the Λόγος of the Gospel of St. John ; and this appears to be represented in the sublime Minerva of the Homeric system. Lastly Latona, the mother of the twin Deities, Apollo and Diana, appears to represent the tradition of the woman from whom the Deliverer was to descend. Thirdly, with respect to the Evil One . . . the idea of evil acting by violence is represented, not indeed exclusively, but most conspicuously, in the Titans and Giants . . . The idea of Evil acting by deceit, is represented in the Ἄτη of Homer. Lastly the Rainbow of Holy Scripture is represented in the Homeric Iris."[1]

The opinions of which the foregoing passages furnish us with an admirable illustration were of course rendered possible by the belief that a universal Deluge had occurred in 2348 B.C., that is to say, only 1164 years before the date assigned to the sack of Troy, and, since it was popularly supposed that Hellas had been peopled by the descendants of Javan, the grandson of Noah (Genesis x. 5), it could hardly be believed that all traces of the assumed

[1] *Studies in Homer and the Homeric Age* (1858), Vol. II, p. 39. Gladstone's views upon this question appear to have remained unchanged thirty years later. Mrs. Humphrey Ward tells us that during a conversation which she had with him at Keble College in April, 1888, he remarked " There are still two things left for me to do ! One is to carry Home Rule—the other is to prove the intimate relation between the Hebrew and Olympian revelations." *A Writer's Collections*, p. 328.

religion of the Patriarch could have become extinct within the space of little more than a millennium. It is interesting to reflect that *Studies in Homer and the Homeric Age* and the *Origin of Species* appeared in consecutive years, since they seem to mark respectively the end of one age and the beginning of another.

Huxley's essay on *Man's Place in Nature* appeared in 1863; the *Descent of Man* followed in 1870, and a year later came the first edition of *Primitive Culture*—events which to many minds gave the deathblow to the Christian religion. The author of this last work made a serious attempt to account for the origin and growth of religious beliefs among mankind without having recourse to the hypothesis of a primitive revelation, and adopting the famous "Minimum Definition of Religion" as "Belief in Spiritual Beings"[1]; he postulated, like Auguste Comte,[2] three stages in its development; giving the name "Animism" to the French philosopher's "Fetichistic" stage, though with him recognising Polytheism and Monotheism as the second and third stages. The genesis of the animistic stage was sought for by Tylor in phantasies seen in dreams.

Mr. Gladstone is reported to have remarked that he was unable to accept the theory of Natural Selection on the ground that it relieved God of the labour of creation. There can be

[1] *Primitive Culture*, 5th ed. Vol. I, p. 424
[2] *Philosophie Positive*, Vol. V.

no doubt whatever but that one of the very greatest merits which Tylor's theory of religous origins possessed in the eyes of many of his contemporaries was that it relieved God of the necessity of having made a revelation, and it is to this, far more than to its own intrinsic merit, that it owed its success. It is impossible here to discuss the psychological causes which have led men to prefer a " naturalistic " to a " supernaturalist " theory of the origin of religion, though there is one aspect of the question upon which it may be well to dwell for a moment. A person's judgment upon this question cannot be wholly uninfluenced by his private views of the importance of belief in God to mankind ; that is to say, if he regards it as of such supreme importance to its welfare that nothing else can be admitted to comparison with it, then he will regard with great favour the possibility of its having originated in a different way from that of beliefs infinitely less useful to the human race. On the other hand, if he views it as a mischievous obsession fraught with possibilities of untold evil to humanity, then he will obviously be indisposed upon *a priori* grounds to consider favourably a theory of its supernatural origin. Mankind is not, however, split up into water-tight compartments containing profoundly religious and passionately anti-religious persons respectively, and it is not difficult to imagine one who belongs to neither of these groups reasoning in some such

way as this: "Knowing as we do the readiness with which ancient peoples were in the habit of ascribing a divine origin to their institutions and customs, even of a secular character, may we not reasonably suppose the Jewish and Christian Churches have merely conformed to this general law in claiming a divine origin for religion?" To this it must suffice here to reply that it is far more likely that God, if He takes a benevolent interest in mankind, would supernaturally reveal to man truths which concern Himself and man's relations with Him than that He should reveal knowledge of those arts and sciences which are of a purely secular nature.

Let us now pass on to a brief examination of the main stages in the controversy between the upholders of a supernatural and of a natural theory of the origin of religion. We must carefully bear in mind, however, that when the Victorian "rationalists" claimed that they had divested their minds of all prejudices with regard to this question it would be imprudent for us to conclude more than that they were free from one particular prejudice, namely, that from which many Christians (Catholics as well as Protestants) were suffering when they permitted themselves to become tied hand and foot to an utterly wooden and mechanical interpretation of the Bible which rendered them utterly impervious to all reason. It would be most unwise to set aside the possibility that they were the victims

of certain more subtle prejudices which they lacked the requisite self-knowledge to detect.

Broadly speaking, it may be said that Tylor's animistic hypothesis still holds the field as an attempt to account for the origin of religion without having recourse to Revelation, though the ponderous intellect of Herbert Spencer became captivated by the belief that ancestor worship was the earliest manifestation of man's religious aspirations from which idol and fetich-worship, animal-worship, plant-worship, nature-worship and belief in spirits took their rise.[1] "Using the word ancestor-worship in its broadest sense," he writes, "as comprehending all worship of the dead, be they of the same blood or not, we may conclude that ancestor-worship is the root of every religion."[2]

Tylor, as we have said, treated religion as a three-storeyed edifice on whose floors were housed respectively Animism, Polytheism, and Monotheism. It was reserved, however, to Sir James (then Mr.) Frazer to excavate a basement beneath this structure when in the first edition of the *Golden Bough* (1890) he contended that the age of religion had been preceded by a non-religious age in which man sought by magical means to control the forces of nature. Magic may perhaps be best regarded as a primitive form of science. "If we analyse the principles of thought on which magic is based," says this author, "they will probably be found

[1] *Principles of Sociology*, Vol. I., 400-411. [2] *Ib.*, 772.

to resolve themselves into two: first, that like produces like, or that an effect resembles its cause; and second, that things which have once been in contact with each other continue to act on each other at a distance after physical contact has been severed. The former principle may be called the law of similarity, the latter the law of contact or contagion."[1] Upon the failure of magic primitive man was led to suppose the existence of a world of spirits.[2]

This theory has met with little acceptance.[3] Other writers, however, dissatisfied with Tylor's animistic view, have been led to postulate a social origin for religion. Robertson-Smith and Jevons, indeed, have argued that Totemism, an essentially social form of worship, was the earliest manifestation of man's attempts to get into touch with the Unseen, while a Jewish *savant*, the late Emile Durkheim, has criticised the animistic theory from the following standpoints: the savage has but little leisure for speculation and would never attempt to construct from dream-phenomena a theory of the nature of the soul, since intellectual laziness is at its

[1] *Golden Bough*, 3rd ed., Vol. I, p. 52.
[2] *Ib.*, Vol. III, pp. 458-461.
[3] The objection to it has been well put by Mr. A. B. Cook: "The baffled magician would most plausibly account for his failure by attributing it to the counter-charms of some rival practitioner on earth, to say a neighbouring chief, or else to the machinations of a ghost, say a dead ancestor of his own. Why should he—how could he—assume a sky-god, unless the sky was already regarded as a divine Potency. And, if this was the case, then religion was not subsequent to magic, but either prior to it, or coeval with it." *Zeus*, Vol. I, (1914), p. 13, note.

maximum among primitive peoples[1]; the origin of religion must be sought in the social consciousness, and the instance of the French Revolution shows us that society possesses the power of creating a cult.[2]

In England the view that gods are generated by a social emotion expressing itself through a periodic rite has found an exponent in Miss Jane Harrison. Dr. Marett has argued that Tylor's animistic stage was preceded by one in which life and power, but not a separable soul, were ascribed to inanimate objects and which he terms "Animatism," while allowing, however, that animism and animatism may exist side by side.[3]

A new train of thought was opened up by Mr. Andrew Lang's *Making of Religion* (1898) in which he protested against the view that "supreme beings" were but a comparatively recent introduction into religion, and adduced a large body of facts attesting their existence among peoples at a rudimentary stage of culture.[4]

It may perhaps have appeared to some minds that Mr. Lang's work marked a retrograde step, and that a "superstitious" belief in a divine revelation expelled from the front door of the Temple of Science was surreptitiously seeking to

[1] *Elementary forms of the Religious Life*, Eng. Trans, p. 58.
[2] *Ib.* p. 14.
[3] *Threshold of Religion*, 2nd ed., (1914), pp. 14 ff.
[4] Upon this question see also Father W. Schmidt's studies in *Anthropos*, (1908), III, 559-611, 801-836, 1081-1120; (1909), IV, 207-250.

gain admittance by a backdoor. Dr. Marett, however, acquits Mr. Lang of the charge of superstition. "If there be those who harbour a suspicion that Mr. Lang was moved by ulterior motives of a non-scientific kind—that to employ a current vulgarism, he was 'playing to the theological gallery'—they are much to be pitied." [1]

In his second edition (1900) Lang argued that these "savage supreme beings" had originated in a primitive attempt to formulate the argument from design, and claimed that his theory of the origin of religion was identical with the views of St. Paul (Romans i., 19ff).[2]

Certain of his critics, however tried to show that these "All Fathers" had originated under missionary influence—Christian or Muhammedan—and much ink has been spilt during the last twenty years in controversies round this point, though the balance of evidence now appears to favour the view that in some cases at least they are indigenous and have not originated as a result of contact with a higher culture.

Let us now pass from theories to facts, and see what the available evidence has to teach us with

[1] *Ib.* 147.

[2] It is difficult to see how he could have told us that the Apostle's "theory of the origin of religion is not that of direct revelation." (*Making of Religion*, 2nd ed. p. 184). St. Paul certainly believed that the existence of a Creator could be inferred from "visible things," but having been brought up an orthodox Jew, he naturally believed that God had made a revelation to Adam.

regard to the early religious beliefs of mankind. The diffusion of monotheistic belief throughout the world has been carried out through the agency of three great religious systems, Christianity, Judaism, and Islam, and their origins are from a historical point of view closely interconnected.[1]

Islam, which has been called "the least original" of the world's faiths,[2] need not detain us long. Arising with dramatic suddenness from the sands of the Arabian desert, it revealed itself upon examination to be a syncretistic system compounded of elements derived from Christianity, Judaism, and the old Semitic paganism. Its founder identified the Creator

[1] There was a tendency towards monotheism visible in the ancient world about the beginning of our era, outside the Judaeo-Christian stream of tradition, brought about through Syncretism. See S. Dill, *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire*, pp. 91 ff. On this question Mr. T. R. Glover writes: "The Roman went to Greece and identified Jupiter with Zeus; he went to Egypt and identified him with Amun (Ammon); he went to Syria and found him in Baal. If the Jew had not been so foolish and awkward there might have been a Jupiter-Jehovah as well." (*The Jesus of History*, p. 192). The triumph of the Church, however, prevented this syncretistic movement from attaining to full fruition. At earlier periods, however, than that of which Mr. Glover is speaking the potentiality of monotheism has been present. Dr. L. R. Farnell, who bids us remember that beside the "lower mythologic" aspects of Zeus there existed also a higher moral conception of that deity, holds that in Greece his cultus might have developed into a monotheistic religion had "a prophet-philosopher arisen, powerful enough to combat the polytheistic proclivities of Hellas" (Art. "Zeus," *Ency. Brit.*, 11th edition). While everyone by this time has heard of the attempt by the remarkable XVIII dynasty king Amenophis IV, (Akhenaton, about 1367-1350 B.C.) to suppress polytheism by decreeing that adoration should be accorded to the solar disc alone.

[2] Estlin Carpenter, *Comparative Religion* (1913), p. 58.

of the Universe with Allah, the local god of Mecca.

The monotheism of the Christian creed was of course taken over directly from its mother-faith, and it is with the origins of Jewish and Israelite conceptions of God that we are principally concerned. Was there ever a period in which Yahweh was not thought of as the Creator of the Universe but was merely a local Deity? It became fashionable during the last century to recognise a prophetic and a pre-prophetic period in the history of Israelitish religion; and to suppose that monotheism had originated in the brains of the eighth century prophets—Amos, Hosea and Isaiah—before whose time the religion of Israel had centred, so it was believed, around the propitiation of a savage old tribal god. Thus the ablest exponent of this view, the late Julius Wellhausen, wrote in his brilliant sketch of the "History of Israel and Judah," which appeared as an article in the ninth edition of the *Ency. Brit.*, "It [the expression 'Jehovah is the god of Israel'] meant that every task of the nation, internal as well as external, was conceived as holy. It certainly did not mean that the Almighty Creator of Heaven and Earth was conceived of as having first made a covenant with this one people that by them He might be truly known and worshipped. It was not as if Jehovah had originally been regarded as the god of the universe, who subsequently became

the god of Israel. On the contrary He was primarily Israel's god, and only long afterwards (very long afterwards) did He come to be regarded as the god of the universe." How and when did Yahweh become invested with the cosmic attribute of creator upon these suppositions? The Book of Genesis contains two cosmogonies: the first in Chapter i-ii, 4; the second in Chapter ii, 5-25. The former is usually assigned to P, and the latter to J. Now since most writers assign P to the age of Ezra (about 440 B.C.), it would upon this view appear that it was some three centuries later than the earliest literary prophets when the monotheistic character of Yahweh was already firmly established. J, however, is admitted generally to be earlier than these writers and is generally assigned to about 850 B.C., though Driver allows that it may have been written a century earlier. We therefore see that some of these writers, who tell us that monotheism was a product of the prophetic intellect involve themselves in contradictory statements, since they tell us at one moment that monotheism was the creation of the prophets, and at another that Yahweh was already a creator a century before Hosea and Amos. The belief, however, that prior to the prophetic period Yahweh was merely a deity of tribal significance was not based upon purely literary arguments. It to some extent derived its force from certain anthropological deductions. It was supposed, at the time when

these views were formulated, that "supreme beings" were a relatively late creation of the human intellect. Since that period, however, they have come to light in many parts of the world, but of the greatest interest for the Biblical student is their presence among the pastoral Hamitic tribes of North-Eastern Africa, both on account of their ethnological affinities to the Hebrews, and owing to the similarity of many of their customs to portions of the Pentateuchal legislation. Many of these peoples are at a lower level of culture than were the Israelites in the regal period, and if a supreme being is found among the former it cannot be an anachronism to suppose the existence of one among the latter. In any case a long time will no doubt elapse before a history of the religion of Israel which can be looked upon as approaching finality comes to be written, if indeed this will ever be done; for the subjective element play a large part in determining the date and sequence of the documents which pertain to the problem. If the cosmogonies of Genesis i. and ii. were universally regarded as of Mosaic date, then of course it would be impossible to argue that the monotheistic conception of Yahweh was of prophetic origin. It has indeed been suggested that fully developed monotheism was preceded in Israel by a stage which some writers have termed "henotheism," that is to say, one in which, while only one deity is an object of worship, the existence of others is still believed

in. And it has been argued that the prophet Elijah was a representative of this phase of religious development. The assumption seems, however, to be an unnecessary one, since the language in which he refers to the Baalim in his ordeal with their priests on Mount Carmel, described in I (III) Kings xviii., is plainly ironical, and quite compatible with a denial of their objective reality. We cannot upon anthropological grounds deny the possibility of the existence of a supreme being in Hebrew belief centuries before Amos (about 760 B.C.) began to prophesy; but we are not precluded from drawing a distinction between the faith of the more religious minds of the nation and that of the populace, who were doubtless always prone to relapse into a tribal conception of the Deity. Even Naaman, when cured by Elisha of his leprosy, asked for "two mules' burden"[1] of soil, in order that he might worship Yahweh upon it on his return to his own country; supposing, apparently, that the God of Israel was in some quasi-physical manner attached to the soil of Palestine.[1]

It seems indeed doubtful whether the mass of men in any country will ever succeed in rising to the sublime conception of the Divine Nature which we find in the New Testament. On this point a courageous Christian bishop wrote not many years ago: "We cannot deny, for example, that the Hebrews, who had, moreover,

[1] II (IV) Kings v., 17.

a divine revelation, generally conceived God to be a national God, their very own, the enemy of other peoples, often under purely anthropomorphic forms. Nor do I believe that I am wronging many of the good Christians among our people by saying that they too form ideas of God and His actions which differ but slightly from those of the ancient Hebrews. It is very difficult to suppose that they can rise to a truly spiritual conception of God and rid themselves of material images. We are only too much driven to believe that in their ideas about God and His acts they intermix low, material thoughts, and rarely succeed in attaining to the notion of God as a spirit. Who can say how imperfect, poor, and unworthy of God are the notions of Him held by our people? Who knows what they imagine as to the act of His mind which generated the Son? And of His will, which in union with the Son, produces the Holy Spirit? And of the mystery of the Incarnation, how it was brought about, and how man participates in its grace? I believe that anthropomorphism, that is to say, the thinking of God as though He were a man and operated as a man, is a much more common thing than we suppose, and it must be so." Mgr. Bonomelli, late Bishop of Cremona, *On Religious Worship*, Eng. Trans. (1906), pp. 49 and 50.

The belief that Yahweh was an aboriginal "High-God" of the Semites was advanced by Mr. Lang in his *Making of Religion*. "Have

critics and manual-makers no knowledge of the science of comparative religion ? " he wrote (p. 284). " Are they unaware that peoples infinitely more backward than Israel was at the date supposed have already moral supreme beings acknowledged over vast tracts of territory ? Have they a tittle of positive evidence that Israel was benighted beyond the darkness of Bushmen, Andamanese, Black-feet, Hurons, Indians of British Guiana, Dinkas, Negroes, and so forth ? Unless Israel had this rare ill-luck (which Israel denies), of course Israel must have had a secular tradition however dim, of a Supreme Being." The early association of Yahweh with atmospheric phenomena, which seems to indicate that He was regarded as a supreme being, is attested by more than one passage in the Old Testament. In the famous canticle of Judges v, verses 4 and 5, we read:

" Lord, when thou wentest forth out of Seir,
" When thou marchedst out of the field of Edom,
" The earth trembled, the heavens also dropped,
" Yea, the clouds dropped water.
" The mountains flowed down at the presence of the Lord.
" Even yon Sinai at the presence of the Lord, the God of Israel.

In Ps. xviii. 7-15 (xvii. 9-18), which for this very reason is allowed even by " advanced " critics to be of early date, we find reflected the same cycle of ideas:

" The earth shook and trembled,
" The foundations also of the mountains moved
" And were shaken, because he was wroth.

" Then went up a smoke out of his nostrils,
" And fire out of his mouth devoured :
" Coals were kindled by it.

" He bowed the heavens also, and came down ;
" And thick darkness was under his feet.

" And he rode upon a cherub, and did fly :
" Yea, he flew swiftly upon the wings of the wind.

" He made darkness his hiding-place, his pavilion round about him ;
" Darkness of waters, thick clouds of the skies.
" At the brightness before him his thick clouds passed.
" Hailstones and coals of fire.

" The Lord also thundered in the heavens,
" And the Most High uttered his voice ;
" Hailstones and coals of fire.

" And he sent out his arrows, and scattered them ;
" Yea, lightnings manifold, and discomfited them.

" Then the channels of waters appeared,
" And the foundations of the world were laid bare,
" At thy rebuke, O Lord,
" At the blast of the breath of thy nostrils." [1]

[1] These two quotations are from the Revised Version.

It is His character as a God of storms which is one of the points which differentiate Yahweh most sharply from the Baalim who were essentially agricultural divinities and associated with a moral code, which, unlike that of the God of Israel, was the reverse of austere. Moreover, it is now coming to be recognised that the ethical character of Yahweh-worship was not a product of the eighth century as so many have on *a priori* grounds contended, but that the religious literature of that period is most easily explicable when considered as a protest against a degenerate state of affairs. "The eighth century prophets Amos, Hosea, Isaiah and Micah," writes an English biblical scholar, "when they attack the religious and social abuses of the time appear in fact to attack them *as abuses, i.e.*, they seem to regard themselves not as the founders of a new type of Yahweh religion, but as interpreting and insisting upon religious essentials which ought to have been patent to Israel at large. The whole tenor of their teaching may be said to presuppose the Decalogue. It is difficult to understand the severity of their language, if it was aimed not at a moral declension but against a stage of morals which as yet knew no higher ideal."[1]

The belief that Yahweh had His abode in certain specified places would not by any means

[1] C. F. Burney "Israelite Religion in Early Times." *Journal of Theological Studies*, Vol. IX, p. 331.

be necessarily inconsistent with His character as a supreme being, since Jupiter, who is regarded by the late Mr. Warde Fowler as an ancient high-god of the Latin race, presided over its territory from his shrine upon the Alban mount.[1]

The divine name Yahu (Yahweh) comes first into prominence under the first Babylonian dynasty (2350-2160 B.C.) which was perhaps first founded by Amorite immigrants[2] and there seems to be no adequate reason to doubt the Biblical tradition which affirms that His worship was brought by Abraham into Palestine.

Dr. Burney believes that Yahweh was at one time identified with the Moon-God Sin, the southern seat of whose worship was Ur, while the northern one was Harran, both localities mentioned in the story of Abraham.[3] The name Sinai also suggests that the mountain was a centre of the worship of this Deity. Burney further considers that his view is strengthened by the fact that a divinity named Atirat seems to have been worshipped as the consort of the moon-god in South Arabia. This Deity was doubtless the same as Ashera, whom he thinks, was worshipped as the consort of Yahweh by Amorite immigrants from South Arabia into Syria. The identification of Ashera with Ashtart is however uncertain (*loc. cit.*, pp. 192, 197). Sin was the chief Deity in Ur and is

[1] *Roman Ideas of the Deity*, (1914), p. 37.
[2] Burney, *Judges*, p. 243.
[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 249

addressed in a hymn as " the Lord, Prince of the Gods, who in heaven alone is supreme." (T. G. Pinches: *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, 1906, p. 82). That the moon-god Sin should in Ur and Harran have been a supreme being rather than the sun-god Samas is probably to be accounted for by the fact that in Babylonia the heat of the sun was too powerful for it to be accounted as an altogether benevolent divinity. Warde Fowler, *op. cit.*, p. 34). It would not, however, necessarily follow from the identification of Yahweh with Sin that the patriarch Abraham was himself a moon-worshipper, since it is possible to suppose that he had inherited a purer conception of the Deity while his contemporaries had fallen into the materialistic error of identifying Him with the earth's satellite. At all events, if Dr. Burney's view is correct, it would render untenable the view that the God of Israel originated as a tribal deity, and would tend to confirm the older view that He was an aboriginal Supreme Being. Since supreme beings have been found among the Nilotic tribes of the present day and have no appearance of being of recent origin, it is not a far-fetched conclusion to suppose that one may have existed among the ancestors of the Hamito-Semitic peoples before their differentiation about 6000 to 4000 B.C.

We have already said that the Catholic Church postulates a revelation made by God to primitive man; we shall now proceed to

discuss whether there are any facts adduced by anthropology which support this belief. It should be made perfectly clear that we are not under any obligation to believe that savage supreme beings, or indeed any traces of monotheistic belief outside the Bible, are relics of a primitive revelation ; and if they can be shown to be due to missionary influence, there should be no reluctance to make such an admission. In cases, however, in which a missionary origin is not admissible we have a choice of explanations offered to us—either we may regard them as primitive attempts to formulate the argument from design, as did Lang, or, in certain cases, if the facts should point in that direction, we need have no scruple in allowing that they may be but the reflections of an idealised king, chief or headman. All we refuse to do is to rule out of court the possibility that they may be dim and distorted recollections of the revelation made by the Creator to our first ancestors. A religious-minded writer, while allowing that the belief that monotheism was the earliest religion of mankind is not one to be dismissed *a priori*, has criticised it upon the following grounds : " It would seem strange," he writes, " first, that the memory of monotheism should have been preserved down to the twentieth century by the Negroes of Africa, the black-fellows of Australia, or casual tribes in Patagonia, and that it should have disappeared ; for we may safely say that it was absent from

the minds of the ancestors of the Indo-European peoples three or four thousand years ago."[1]

This statement is open to criticism. The assertion that it had totally disappeared from the minds of the ancestors of the Indo-Europëan people 2000—1000 B.C. is too sweeping. Dr. Warde Fowler, as we have pointed out, considered that Jupiter was a supreme bengi of the Latin race; and among the eastern branch of the Aryan-speaking portion of mankind it has been argued that traces of early monotheism are to be found as a background to later Hindu Polytheism.[2] Moreover, modern tribes have been found, among whom traces of a supreme being were not detected till long after they had become known to European observers; the reason being that the "high-god" was seldom or never an object of worship. It is therefore by no means impossible that the ancestors of the modern population of Europe in Neolithic, or even in Palaeolithic, times believed in a Supreme Being whose worship fell gradually into abeyance in favour of the cultus of lesser spirits. Traces of monotheism are, however, to some authorities discernable in the earliest records of archaic civilisations founded by peoples who were not of Indo-European speech. Thus, according to Pro-

[1] Principal F. B. Jevons: *Comparative Religion*, (1913), p. 120.
[2] G. A. Grierson: "The Monotheistic Religion of Ancient India." *Transactions of the Third International Congress of the History of Religions*, Vol. II, pp. 44-48.

fessor Flinders Petrie, monotheism is the earliest stage of religion traceable in Egypt, "Wherever" he writes, "we can trace back polytheism to its earliest stages, we find that it results from combinations of monotheism.[1]"

Professor H. A. Giles likewise bears witness to early monotheistic belief in the Far East. "The earliest traces of religious thought and practice in China," he tells us, "point to a simple monotheism. There is a divine ruler of the Universe abiding on high beyond the ken of men. This power was not regarded as the Creator of the human race, but as a Supreme Being, to whom wickedness was abhorrent and virtuous conduct a source of joy, and who dealt out rewards and punishments with unerring justice, claiming neither love nor reverence from mankind."[2]

A Japanese writer similarly informs us that while "strict monotheism has never found a congenial soil in Japan," yet there is not infrequently to be noticed a unitary force behind the manifold exhibition of what are called *Kami* (*i.e.* departmental spirits), while he quotes a fellow-countryman of his to the effect that "the chief God of Shinto shows in its origin a clear trace of primitive monotheism, when viewed in the light of the modern study of the science of religion."[3]

[1] Petrie: *Religion of Ancient Egypt*, (1912), p. 4.
[2] Art. "China (Religion)," *Ency. Brit.*, 11th ed.
[3] Art. "God (Japanese)," Hastings, *Ency. of Religion and Ethics.*

It is, however, legitimate, supposing that monotheism was the earliest phase of religious belief, to inquire what were the causes which tended to obscure it, and how are we to account for the declension from it which must have occurred. There is a singular likeness about the religious beliefs of people in rudimentary phases of culture; that is to say, we find the concepts of animism, animatism, magic, and taboo so widely diffused throughout the globe that it is difficult to believe that the ideas underlying them have been generated more than once. It is far simpler to suppose that they go right back to the beginnings of man's mental history. On the other hand, it is possible to conceive that Totemism, which has been most prevalent in areas so far apart as North America and Australia, though it is also found sporadically in Asia and Africa, may have come into being on more than one occasion, or that at all events some of the ideas underlying it may have done so.[1]

The religious beliefs of the Bronze Age and of the Neolithic peoples of Europe are in all probability to some extent deducible from monumental evidence. They appear to have contained elements which, on the analogy of historic peoples at the same level of culture, we should be prepared to find. That is to say,

[1] "It (Totemism) is indeed, far from universal mankind, probably much less ancient than Animism, and certainly far less enduring." Carveth Read. *Origin of Man*, p. 293.

there are traces of the existence of a solar-cult, and of a mother-goddess in those ages. Homeopathic magic was evidently practised by the Palaeolithic savages of South-Western Europe, since the beautiful polychromatic representations of animals executed by Magdalenian man, deep in the recesses of the earth, can hardly have been made for the purpose of amusement only; while the ceremonial interments of Le Moustier and La Chapelle-aux-Saints would appear to indicate the existence of animistic belief as far back as the Mousterian age. If Neanderthal man was capable of possessing the rudiments of a religious cult, there is no reason to doubt the possession of one by Piltdown man with his higher type of forehead. In recent years it has been customary to explain the origin of the idea of the soul by reference to the phenomena of dreams. Many writers, however, when they do this, are merely following one another like a flock of sheep, and have bestowed little or no original thought on the subject. Emile Durkheim expressed dissatisfaction with the Tylorian view, and has pointed out that while no doubt primitive peoples of to-day attribute many dreams to the action of the double, it does not thereby follow that the dream was actually the material out of which the double or soul was created.[1]

At all events our opinions on the origin of belief in a separable soul can hardly be divorced from our ideas about the origin of Theism and

our estimates of the mental level of the first men. Nevertheless, even if a pure monotheism was historically the earliest creed of mankind, it is not difficult to imagine some of the stages which led to a declension to animism. The less spiritual portion of mankind, ceasing to be attracted by the worship of an immaterial Being, would readily come to identify the supernatural with striking objects of a landscape, with strange sounds, and, in fact, with all phenomena which puzzled them, and to which in consequence they would be led to attribute "mana" or occult power. At the same time the growing complexity of the social order has not infrequently been reflected in the celestial sphere, departmental gods or spirits coming into being to fulfil certain specified functions. "With the advance of civilisation," writes Dr. Warde Fowler, "it would seem that monotheism has a tendency to be killed by animism, which in a settled agricultural life throws up endless shoots, becoming at last a growth which completely hides the nobler tree. It is not my business here to explain this; but I can see well enough that the more the occupations of mankind in the house and in the town and on the land increase in diversity and complexity, the more likelihood there will be that a people of an originally simple monotheistic belief will spread the idea of divinity over the experience of daily life."[2]

Political as well as social conditions have their

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 58. [2] *Op. cit.*, p. 33.

influence upon the formation of divine hierarchies. Dr. T. G. Pinches tells us that a trustworthy history of the origin and early growth of Babylonian religion is impossible, owing to the advanced stage of development which it had reached at the date of the earliest monumental evidence available for its study. "There is no doubt, however," he says, "that it may be regarded as having reached the stage at which we find it in consequence of there being a number of states in Ancient Babylonia (which was at that time like the Heptarchy in England) each possessing its own divinity—who, in its district, was regarded as supreme—with a number of lesser gods forming his court. It was," continues this authority, "the adding together of all these small Pantheons which ultimately made that of Babylonia as a whole so exceedingly extensive."[1]

As aboriginal man was faced with a hard struggle for existence, his material needs must have tended more and more to absorb his attention, and draw it away from the thoughts of his Creator just as during the last century the hard conditions of life among a large section of the workers of Europe were partially responsible for their alienation from spiritual things. The growing dominion of his lower nature over his reason would proceed *pari passu* with man's forgetfulness of God, and this in turn would leave his mind a prey to the grossest super-

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 15.

stitions. His deceased ancestors, nearer to his thoughts than the Deity, would tend to become the centre of a cultus, while the propitiation of real or supposed malignant spirits would seem to be required by his hard lot. We may readily allow that at an early date he would begin to think of the continued existence of the soul after death (in which he already believed) in terms suggested by the world of things with which he supposed himself to be in contact in his dreams, wherein he saw the " souls " of animals no less than those of his deceased relatives. His perverted religious outlook would lead him to adore some animals, such as the tiger, under the inspiration of terror ; others such as the cow, from a sense of their usefulness. The cult of fire would be readily suggested by its mysterious properties ; running water would seem instinct with some form of " mana " or supernatural life, while the sun and moon have, of course, a most obvious claim to become the objects of a religious cult. Magic originated perhaps in an attempt to influence nature by imitating her, and under the conviction of its efficacy men leaped into the air to make the crops grow high, poured out water to produce rain, ate the heart of a lion to acquire courage, and abstained from the flesh of a deer lest they should grow timid.[1]

[1] " Magic is an attempt to act directly on Nature. Such, for instance, are some of the elaborate ceremonies of the Australian aborigines. They have no relation to, and imply no belief in, the existence of supernatural beings (Lord Avebury : *The Origin of*

Soon little of the original revelation would survive, even among those tribes which had preserved it longest, beyond belief in a righteous Creator Who rewarded and punished men beyond the grave for observances or infractions of such parts of the moral law as have never been obliterated entirely from the human heart, and even in such tribes it would have become partially obscured by animistic and magical belief.

The exact amount of community in moral sentiment which is shared by all mankind does not seem to be very large. Indiscriminate homicide, theft, and sexual promiscuity appear never to have been tolerated by the human race, and with regard to offences belonging to the first of these categories, Westermarck (*Origin and Development of Moral Ideas*, Vol I, p. 331) quotes with approval a statement made by Tylor to the effect that " no known tribe, however low and ferocious, has ever admitted that men may kill one another indiscriminately." (*Contemporary Review*, Vol. XXI, p. 714). The condemnation of adultery is also almost universal. On the other hand, with regard to the heinousness of lying, of suicide, and of certain other offences, a very great diversity of opinions has prevailed. It would not, however, appear to be impossible to regard the moral codes of primitive peoples as representing lapses from a higher standard. The readiness with which

Civilisation and the Primitive Condition of Man, Preface to 6th ed., 1902).

Europeans in contact with them have lapsed, not only in practice, but also in theory, from the ethical code prevalent in Christian countries in the matter of homicide is admitted by Westermarck who says: "The behaviour of European colonists toward coloured races only too often reminds us of the manner in which savages treat members of a foreign tribe. . . . In Australia there are instances reported of young colonists employing the Sunday in shooting blacks for the sake of sport." "The life of a Native," says Mr. Lumholtz, "has but little value, particularly in the northern part of Australia, and once or twice colonists offered to shoot blacks for me so that I might get their skulls. On the borders of civilisation men would think as little of shooting a black man as a dog!" (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 371, 372).

We may suppose that the belief in a Supreme Being lingered most persistently in Babylonia, since it was from this region that God chose the messengers who were to reassert the lost beliefs of aboriginal man.

Before concluding, it may be well to set out briefly the reasons under whose influence belief in a primitive revelation has become unpopular in scientific circles, and then to ask ourselves whether there is any real "conflict" between Theology and Science upon this question. The reasons referred to are, in the opinion of the present writer three in number—(1) the greatly increased knowledge of secondary causes

possessed by modern man in comparison with that at the disposal of our ancestors, has, by imperceptible stages, led scientific men, who are not personally religious, into a mental condition which indisposes them to see the hand of God in human history, even where it is most apparent, partly from temperamental disinclination, and partly through fear of the accusation of "superstition." (2) The misuse which was made of the Bible by the Reformers and their followers who propounded for our literal acceptance all Biblical statements quite irrespective of the question whether their authors meant them to be taken literally or symbolically, and utterly regardless of the methods of writing history among ancient peoples. This resulted in the fact that when the old evangelical view of the Bible broke down, those men who did not recognise an external interpreter possessing authority to tell us which statements must be accepted as literal history and which need not be so regarded, began in large numbers to abandon belief in the Bible altogether, and concluded that if such passages as those concerning the "six days of creation" could not be taken literally, therefore other statements which formed the bases of certain Christian doctrines might be treated in a similar way. (3) Belief in a primitive revelation was undoubtedly brought into disrepute by the fantastic speculations of certain would-be apologists for Christianity, like Gladstone, whose

theories led men to identify the belief with one particular (and it must be admitted exceedingly grotesque) presentation of it, and to assume that the doctrine itself had been discredited, whereas in reality only one version of it had incurred that fate.

The theologian and the anthropologist need not quarrel over this question if each will keep within his proper sphere. It belongs to the province of the theologian no less to tell us the scope of the primitive revelation than the scope of that made by Jesus Christ. The extent of the knowledge of divine things which God revealed to our first ancestors is a question upon which men of science know, and can know, nothing directly. The theologian cannot, however, directly tell us whether certain beliefs found in Australia, in the Andaman Islands, among the Bushmen, or in Patagonia, are or are not vestiges of this revelation. The anthropologist must not dismiss *a priori* the possibility of such a revelation; nevertheless, if he can adduce solid reason in support of the view that savage supreme beings are but borrowings from some missionary faith, "first causes" postulated by the mind of primitive man to account for the existence of the phenomenal world, or that they are tribal ancestors, idealised headmen, personified bull-roarers, or what not, he may justly ask from the theologian a frank recognition of his conclusions.

Let our concluding thoughts be these. There have been periods in the Church's history when men have believed that the sciences of astronomy and geology had demolished her claim to speak with Divine authority to mankind. No one, however, thinks that at the present day; and the conclusions of these sciences have been harmonised with theology, not by the surrender of any one of the Church's doctrines, nor yet by the denial of any astronomical or geological fact, but by a clearer appreciation of the respective boundaries of both the divine and of the natural sciences. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11th ed.) is able to tell us that the best European text-book of stratigraphical geology in existence is the work of a Catholic Professor—the late M. Albert de Lapparent.

In a similar manner at the present day there is a chorus of voices occupied in assuring us that the science of anthropology has "pulverised" Christianity, just as in past generations there were those who imprudently assumed that such a result had been achieved by astronomy and geology. Is it rash to surmise that when the present century is drawing to its close, the idea that the facts brought to light by anthropology have in any way invalidated the claims of the Catholic religion will seem as unreal as the idea that the facts brought to light by the devotees of the aforementioned sciences have done so?

SUGGESTED RELATION OF THE BIBLE TO PREHISTORIC ARCHAEOLOGY.

	Archaeology and Anthropology	The Bible.
Pliocene or Tertiary Period.	Implementiferous Preglacial Deposits of East Anglia.	The Fall of Man. Genesis iii, 1–24. (If preglacial implements found in East Anglia were made by man) ?
Pleistocene or Quaternary Period comprising according to most authorities Four Glacial Phases with Three Warm Intervals. Its total duration is uncertain.	Java Skull-Cap.	The Fall of Man (if Preglacial implements from East Anglia were made by some now extinct tool-using animal other than man) ?
	Piltdown Race.	
	Heidelberg Race.	
	Mousterian Man in Europe. c. 20,000 B.C. or Earlier ?	Beginnings of Pastoral and Agricultural Life. Genesis, iv, 2 ?
	Magdalenian Man. c. 10,000 B.C. Cave art attains its zenith.	Beginnings of City Life in Western Asia. Genesis iv, 17 ?
Holocene or Recent Period. Neolothic and Subsequent Cultures.	Sumerians in Mesopotamia, c. 5,000 B.C.	The Deluge. Genesis vi, 5—viii, 19 ?
	First Egyptian Dynasty of Manetho. c. 3,500 B.C.	
	Naram-Sin. c. 2,800 B.C.	Nimrod (=Naram-Sin ?) Genesis x, 8-10.
	Hammurabi. c. 2,100 B.C.	Abraham. c. 2,100 B.C.
	Akhenaton. c. 1,350 B.C.	David. c. 1,000 B.C.

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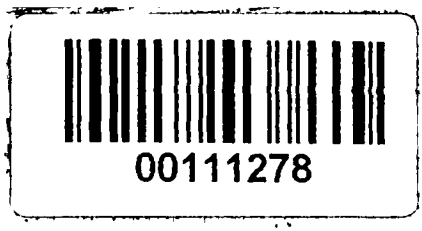
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